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THE DISCOVERY OF BRAZIL—ACCIDENTAL OR INTENTIONAL?

The voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral who, according to the generally accepted tradition, accidentally sighted the Brazilian coast early in 1500, is second in importance only to that of Columbus. It gave Portugal a foothold in South America from which the Brazilian nation resulted; and it simplified the task of rounding the African cape, since the usefulness of Brazil was first estimated in terms of a way-station on the route to India.

The manner of Brazil's discovery has been occasionally debated for nearly a century. In 1849, the scholarly Emperor Dom Pedro II. initiated the controversy by proposing to the Brazilian historical institute as a topic for investigation the question, "Was the discovery of Brazil by Pedro Alvares Cabral due to a mere accident or had he any information to guide him?"¹ Joaquim Norberto de Souza Silva responded to the emperor's suggestion with a paper describing an intentional discovery occasioned by previous knowledge.² Four years later, there appeared answering arguments by two of Norberto's countrymen. The first, by J. J. Machado de Oli-

¹ *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico do Brasil*, XV. (Rio de Janeiro, 1888), 125.

² "Sobre o descobrimento do Brazil," *ibid.*, pp. 125-204.

³ "Memorias sobre o descubrimto do Brasil," *ibid.*, XVIII. 279-288.

veira,³ was valueless, displaying neither investigation nor historical knowledge; the second, by A. Gonçalves Dias,⁴ provided a case for accidental discovery and sustained it with vigor and ability. To this, Joaquim Norberto at once replied, reinforcing his original stand with additional evidence and unquestionably taking the honors of the debate.⁵ Although later investigations in Portugal and elsewhere have made these early attempts obsolete, the controversy established fundamental points of difference on which subsequent studies have been based.

Cabral⁶ left Lisbon in 1500, ostensibly for the sole purpose of duplicating Vasco da Gama's voyage;⁷ but, in the course of his outward sailing, he came upon Brazil. The older theory of an accidental landfall, caused when wind or current or loss of direction deflected Cabral's ships from their intended course, has been abandoned as inadequate by nearly all Portuguese and Brazilian students. On the other hand, if Cabral purposely went far enough westward to encounter Brazil, he must have had one of two motives. He may have sought land by reason of having direct knowledge that it existed, or mere curiosity may have impelled him to learn if anything lay in that quarter.

Reserving the wind and tide theory for future consideration, we must decide what explanation best accounts for Cabral's otherwise puzzling choice of a course. While the spur of curiosity about the South Atlantic constitutes a possible motive, it is indubitably more to the point to examine the likelihood that the discoverer had previous knowledge of Brazil's existence.

Portugal in Cabral's day far surpassed other European

³"Reflexões ácerca da memoria do illustre membro o Sr. Joaquim Norberto de Souza Silva," *ibid.*, pp. 289-334.

⁴"Refutação ás reflexões do digno membro o Sr. Dr. A. Gonçalves Dias," *ibid.*, pp. 335-405.

⁵For a brief biography of this discoverer, see James Roxburgh McClymont, *Pedralvares Cabral* (London, 1914).

⁶Cabral's ultimate destination was Calicut on the Malabar coast.

nations in maritime experience and geographical knowledge. Since the lifetime of Prince Henry, its vessels had year by year penetrated the Atlantic to the south and west. By 1445, Cape Verde was passed; the Congo was reached by Cão in 1482; and Cape Boa Esperança, by Dias four years later. Only the broadest outlines of Portuguese marine achievement have been preserved for us. Regardless of any evidence which may be advanced, therefore, an exceedingly strong likelihood exists that a Portuguese vessel may have stumbled upon some portion of the American coast at a comparatively early date and reported the discovery.

Indication of some vague knowledge of the American continent is furnished by the Andrea Bianco portulan of 1448, in which a land corresponding in shape and location to northeast Brazil is labeled "authentic island".⁸ A possible key to the discovery of this supposed island is supplied by statements in the historical works of the Portuguese Galvão⁹ and the Spanish Las Casas.¹⁰ Other evidences from scattered sources point to the same conclusion. No one of these, perhaps, if taken singly, would satisfy the critical student, but their unanimity is impressive.

Recently, a document considered by its finder as proof of a pre-Columbian discovery of South America, was unearthed in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo in Lisbon.¹¹ Buried obscurely among the details of a sixteenth century lawsuit, a statement was encountered seeming to indicate the existence of a Portuguese colony in Brazil before 1492. The document

⁸For discussions of this map, see Henry Yule Oldham, "A Pre-Columbian discovery of America," *The Geographical Journal*, V. (London, 1895), 221-239; Carlo Errera, "Della carta di Andrea Bianco del 1448 e di una supposta scoperta del Brasile nel 1447," *Memorie della Società Geografica Italiana*, V. (Roma, 1895), 202-225; Jayme Batalha-Reis, "The supposed discovery of South America before 1448 and the critical methods of the historians of geographical discovery," *The Geographical Journal*, IX. (London, 1897), 185-210.

⁹*The Discoveries of the World* (London, Hakluyt Society, 1862), p. 72.

¹⁰*Historia de las Indias* (Madrid, 1875), I. 100.

¹¹Jordão de Freitas, "O descobrimento Pre-Colombino da América Austral pelos Portugueses," *Lusitania*, IX. (Lisboa, 1926), 315-327.

was the defendants' case in a suit pressed by the French Admiral, Baron St. Blanchard, against certain Portuguese, notably Pero Lopes de Sousa and Antonio Correia, in the year 1532. The baron sought damages for the loss of his ship, the *Pelerine*, which the defense held had made an unwarranted attack on Pernambuco, had sacked the place and held it for a time, ultimately falling into the hands of Sousa, when the latter recaptured the town. The defending Portuguese lawyers, "Christophorus" and "Ludovicus", in summing up the case for their clients, wrote:

They [the clients] intend to prove that in the year 1531 [1532 by modern reckoning] in such a month the vessel and crew alleged to belong to the plaintiff went to take possession of Pernambuco, a Brazilian port, where there was a castle and a fortress constructed by the king our lord and his Portuguese vassals which had stood in the said port for over thirty years, and the castle and port were inhabited by the Portuguese who had had their dwelling houses there for over forty years. . . .¹²

If we date from 1532 and take literally the words "for over forty years", we find ourselves as far back as 1492 and perhaps farther; since presumably "over forty years" means more than forty and less than fifty. It will also be noticed that the "official" parts of Pernambuco, the castle and fortress, are estimated as only some thirty years of age. This brings them within accepted chronology and hence lends credence to the entire story.

It is, of course, unsafe to conclude too much from this evidence. No other known fact points to the existence of a Portuguese settlement at Pernambuco before 1500. Obviously such a colony should have better proof of its foundation than a doubtful reference in a lawsuit, in which it was to the advantage of one party to make the settlement as old as possible. We shall, therefore, regard the story as possible but unproven.

More convincing evidence comes from Estevão Fróis, an

¹²"... tinham as suas casas de morada avya quarenta anos e mais, . . ."
Ibid., p. 322.

obscure Portuguese, who is known from a letter he wrote to King Manoel in 1514. He, with two compatriots, was then in a Spanish prison at Santo Domingo. The captives had suffered ill-treatment from their jailors, who suspected and accused them of having purposely encroached upon Spanish dominions. The letter tells of their having left Portugal on a voyage of discovery, the destination of which was evidently northern Brazil. Misfortune followed their landing; they escaped with difficulty from Indians and, with their ship in bad condition, fled to Santo Domingo, the nearest port, only to be jailed as intruders. Fróis's letter, an appeal for intercession by his king,¹³ denied all intention of infringing upon Castilian territory. He complained thus of Spanish obstinacy and ignorance,

. . . they were not willing to receive the proof from us of what we alleged; namely that your Highness had possessed these lands [Brazil] for twenty years and more. . . .

The preceding statement would probably be taken as a reference only to the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494, save for an allusion by Fróis to a previous voyage by a certain João Coelho, as if intending to convey that the latter's discovery had given his country the claim. From another source we learn that Coelho was a partner of João Vaz Côrte-Real, that the two men quarreled, and that the former, in his own vessel, discovered lands "na parte do sul".¹⁴ Coelho evidently died on the voyage, as did his companions, with the exception of two, who were able to go back to Terceira.¹⁵ No date appears for this venture, but the mention of the elder Côrte-Real, who died July 2, 1496, and in whose lifetime the discovery presumably took place, is of some assistance. While the data con-

¹³ *Alguns documentos do Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo acerca das navegações e conquistas Portuguezes* (Lisboa, 1892), p. 361. *História da colonização portuguesa do Brasil*, I. (Porto, 1921), xlv.

¹⁴ Robert Ricard, "Le problème de la découverte du Brésil," *Bulletin hispanique*, XXV. (Bordeaux and Paris, 1923), 76. Ricard's cited source is an unpublished Portuguese manuscript.

¹⁵ Batalha-Reis (*op. cit.*, p. 203) quotes the same manuscript as does Ricard.

cerning Coelho's achievement is sparse, there is remarkable agreement between the two widely divergent sources. It is clear that Fróis referred to a definite feat of discovery when he spoke of "twenty years and more" of Portuguese ownership of Brazil.

A further item of interest is found in the strange case of João Ramalho, one of Brazil's oldest settlers, possibly the oldest of all. This puzzling character is known to have inhabited the capitania of São Vicente prior to the coming of Martim Affonso de Souza, who planted the first white settlement there in 1531. He became a power among the local Indians, married a native princess, and was later useful to the Portuguese during the founding of their colony. Ramalho was a Portuguese, a native of Broucelá in the province of Beira; the time and manner of his arrival in Brazil, however, are controversial matters. On his deathbed, in 1580, in the presence of witnesses, Ramalho stated that he had lived in the country about ninety years. Madre de Deus, a priest-historian, writing in 1784, says:

I have a copy of the original will of João Ramalho, written in the records of the town of São Paulo by the Notary, Lourenço Vaz, May 3, 1580.

The authenticity of the said testament is alleged by Judge Pedro Diaz and four witnesses, in addition to the Notary, all of whom heard the words of the testator. He twice repeated that he had lived some ninety years in this country, without any of the hearers saying that he was mistaken, which they certainly would have done if the old man had been in error. . . .¹⁶

Since, by his own statements, Ramalho must have been well over a hundred years old in 1580, the reasons for questioning his accuracy are too obvious to need elaboration. It seems, however, that he had told this story before when much

¹⁶ D. Fr. Gaspar da Madre de Deus, "Notícia dos annos em que se descobriu o Brasil; e das entradas das religiões, e suas fundações," *Revista trimestral de História e Geographia*, II. (Rio de Janeiro, 1858), 428-429. The manuscript of Madre de Deus was over 70 years old at the time of this publication. The words of Madre de Deus in reference to Ramalho are quoted verbatim by José A. Rodrigues d'Oliveira Catramby, "Descobrimento do Brasil em 1500," in *Revista da Sociedade de Geographia do Rio de Janeiro*, XI. (Rio de Janeiro, 1896), 3-74.

younger, and his dates as previously given checked fairly well with his final deposition. Certainly none of his last hearers was in any position to dispute either his age or his length of residence in Brazil. His story of an arrival at about the year 1490 is not an unlikely one, except for the remarkable longevity involved. A shipwreck of a Portuguese vessel might have led to one or more of the crew being cast upon Brazilian shores. Or Ramalho may have been what was known in Portuguese marine circles as a "degradado". The word means a seaman who, through insubordination or other offense, had incurred the ire of his ship's officers and had been marooned on a lonely shore. We know that this method of punishing refractory sailors was common.¹⁷ Ramalho therefore must be given the benefit of the doubt; it is possible that this human derelict was the first permanent European inhabitant of continental America.

Here we turn to Columbus himself, for even his voyages are but a phase of Portuguese Atlantic explorations. There is no longer any doubt that the great Genoese formed his project while living in Portugal. The evidences of this may be listed as follows:

1. Portugal, in which Columbus made his home about 1476, was the maritime leader of the western world at that time.

2. Columbus testified that he made a trip in a Portuguese vessel to the Guinea Coast. This voyage, if authentic, surely stimulated his curiosity and his desire for further explorations.

3. The discoverer married the daughter of Bartolomeu Perestrello, a coloniser of Madeira, and made his home for a time in this Atlantic outpost of Portugal. He is said to have had access to important papers of Perestrello relating to western seas.¹⁸

¹⁷ For example, Cabral's fleet left two degradados in Brazil.

¹⁸ Henry Vignaud disputes this on the grounds that Perestrello was never a seaman. The logical answer seems to be that neither was Prince Henry the Navigator, in the exact sense of the word.

4. When Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli, the Florentine scholar, wrote his famous letter to Canon Fernam Martins, a Portuguese courtier, Columbus learned of it and obtained a copy of which he evidently made use.¹⁹

5. Las Casas and Ferdinand Columbus, the chief biographers of the Admiral, list many sea captains, nearly all Portuguese, whose reports were instrumental in shaping his views.

6. It was to João II, the able king of Portugal, that Columbus made his first plea for royal backing in a trans-Atlantic voyage.

It is unfortunate that all accounts of the negotiations between King João and the Genoese were written long afterward, at a time when Columbus's success in Castilian service had obscured his earlier Portuguese career. Writers such as Las Casas believed they knew so well what must have happened that they did not hesitate to fill in gaps in their information by rationalising. The discoverer's relations with João are thus by no means so publicised as are his later dealings with Ferdinand and Isabella. A few passages in his own writings; the account of Las Casas, which certainly came from a Columbian source; a few lines from Portuguese historians, most of whom used Spanish sources; and a letter from João II. to Columbus in 1488, the authenticity of which is ques-

¹⁹ After three decades of controversy over the Toscanelli-Columbus correspondence, the scholarly world has not been completely convinced by the arguments of Gonzalez de la Rosa and Henry Vignaud that the documents are spurious. The present view is that, while Toscanelli may never have written to Columbus, there is no good reason for doubting that he corresponded with Fernam Martins, Canon of Lisbon and gentleman of the household of Afonso V. of Portugal in 1474. Columbus, this opinion holds, secured the text of the letter, placed his own name above it as the recipient, and thus caused posterity to believe that the distinguished Florentine had honored an unknown adventurer with his confidence just as he had Martins, the agent of King Afonso. For the bases of this problem, see Manuel Gonzalez de la Rosa, "La Solución de todos los problemas relativos a Cristóbal Colón," in *Revista Histórica*, I. trimestre IV. (Lima, 1906); Henry Vignaud, *Toscanelli and Columbus* (London, 1902); Angel Altolaquirre y Duvalé, *Cristóbal Colón y Pablo del Pozzo Toscanelli* (Madrid, 1903); Norbert Sumien, *La correspondance du savant florentin Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli avec Christophe Colomb* (Paris, 1927); and *História da colonização*, I. lxxix-cxii.

tioned,²⁰ are all that remain to bear witness that the negotiations took place.

The ruler of Portugal was a man of ability and learning. His refusal to engage the resources of his nation in Columbus's enterprise was not due to ignorance or inability to comprehend the possibilities of the scheme. João, whose principal activity was exploration, must have had knowledge of the Atlantic far exceeding that of Columbus. The explanation of his attitude seems fairly obvious, if, as we assume, Columbus made the same demands that he later made in Spain. Such terms as a title of nobility, the hereditary governorship of all lands to be discovered, and a heavy share in the revenues to be acquired²¹ were enough to make the less experienced Ferdinand and Isabella hesitate several years, and were absolutely ridiculous to João. These stipulations came from a man who could not pay for his own expedition and would have to be outfitted at royal expense. Columbus could do nothing for King João that the king could not do for himself. No monarch having in his service such men as Diogo Cão, Bartolomeu Dias, Duarte Pacheco, and the Gamas would trust a vital national enterprise to an untried foreigner. The Genoese theorist who advanced an hypothesis that was neither original nor scientific might well have provoked a smile from the king's servants, who year by year risked their lives to further a long-determined policy, for which they expected but meager rewards.

Columbus and João were temperamental opposites. The former, a religious enthusiast and a dreamer, talked of devoting his fortune, when he acquired it, to the conquest of the Holy Sepulcher. It is not maligning the Christian sentiments of the king to say that the Holy Sepulcher was the least of his

²⁰ Vignaud (*Histoire critique de la grande Entreprise de Christophe Colomb*, Paris, 1911, I. 668) disputes the authenticity of the document on the authority of J. I. de Brito Rebello.

²¹ Las Casas (*op. cit.*, I. 219) says that these were Columbus's terms in Portugal.

worries.²² The monarch was a calculating statesman and a realist.

Columbus's idea of reaching Asia by a trans-Atlantic voyage, derived partially from the Toscanelli correspondence, was a familiar one to the king. In the time of Affonso V., Portugal had rejected Toscanelli's project, its knowledge and experience of the Atlantic making this seem impossible. It is interesting to note that at no time did the Portuguese confuse the American lands with Asia, even when such an idea was prevalent in Castile.

At this time Portugal was undertaking exploration in two directions, and separate lines of endeavor can be clearly traced. One, a national enterprise and a heritage from Prince Henry, followed the African coast. By the time of João II., it was known with reasonable certainty that this would ultimately lead to India. Here the crown directly participated, and the important voyages were made by royal officers commanding government ships. Before the end of the reign, Bartolomeu Dias brought the project almost to completion by rounding Boa Esperança.

The other and decidedly secondary line of exploration lay to the west. This course of discovery had long been an established fact, having begun with the Azores and Madeira. These outposts served as bases for many of the later Atlantic voyages; and at the time of Columbus's interview with the king,²³ there were island Portuguese who speculated along the same lines as the Genoese. The crown took no direct part here but stood ready to give every encouragement short of financial help to private initiative. Had Columbus been able to equip his own expedition, the probability is that he would have received virtually every consideration from King João.²⁴

²² "Le cadet de ses soucis." Manuel Pinheiro Chagas, *Os descobrimentos portugueses e os de Colombo* (Lisboa, 1892), p. 182.

²³ The date of this interview is uncertain. The year 1483 is often given.

²⁴ "Não vemos nos claramente que a única dificuldade de D. João II. estava em fazer por sua conta a expedição! Se Colombo a fizesse á sua custa, não receberia do rei de Portugal senão todas as animações." Chagas, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

We learn from records of other Portuguese grants to private individuals how Columbus would have fared had his circumstances been different. On June 30, 1484, King João made a concession in favor of a certain Fernam Dominguez do Arco, an inhabitant of Madeira.²⁵ From the terms, it is clear that this individual was planning a voyage of discovery, and while the direction is not specified in the grant, it could not have been other than west. The future discoverer was assured the proprietorship of the island he hoped to find on the same terms as the feudal arrangement by which Governor Joham Gonçalves da Camara held Madeira.²⁶

More details are known of a similar project which João approved in favor of Fernam Dulmo of Terceira, in July, 1486.²⁷ Dulmo, whom the king in his grant calls "a knight of our household", is believed by some to have been of Flemish or German blood,²⁸ but no lack of consideration was shown him on this account.

Dulmo's purpose in voyaging was stated as being the discovery of the "Island of the Seven Cities". The familiar legend of this island, or Antillia, is that, at the time of the Moslem conquest of Spain, an archbishop of Oporto, with seven bishops and a multitude of followers, departed by sea to the west. They arrived at the island of Antillia, and built there seven cities, which their descendants were believed still to inhabit in the fifteenth century. This version of the legend is given by Martin Behaim in an inscription on his famous globe. Others differ slightly as to details.

Although Dulmo's expedition would thus seem to be a mere attempt to locate a mythical land which was not deemed far away, there was more behind the voyage than at first appears.

²⁵ *Alguns Documentos*, p. 56.

²⁶ "... fazermos, como de fecto per esta fazemos, mercee da capitania da dita ilha, na forma e maneyra que a tem Joham Gomçallvez da Camara, a capitania da dita ilha da Madeyra." *Idem*.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

²⁸ E. G. Ravenstein (*Martin Behaim, his life and globe*, London, 1908, p. 50) calls him Ferdinand Van Olm.

The words "terra firme" were employed in the grant, in reference to possible discoveries. The seven cities were believed to be on an island, so we see that the possibility of further discoveries was considered. Also, the rights of governorship and revenue,²⁹ which were vested in Dulmo and his descendants, were stated to apply both to populated and unpopulated islands and mainland. Since the seven cities obviously would have a considerable population, we again see the indication of a more extended voyage.

Dulmo evidently proved unable to carry out the plan with his own resources, for a little later we find him taking a partner, João Affonso do Estreito, a wealthy resident of Madeira. The king drew up another grant for this newcomer, including very much the same rights as had previously been allotted solely to Dulmo.³⁰

The associates made a curious arrangement. During the month of March, 1487, they would sail from Terceira, taking with them as a passenger, in either vessel he preferred, one who was described as a "German knight". This individual is believed to have been Martin Behaim, recently knighted by King João and then living at nearby Fayal. The vessels were to be provisioned for a six months' voyage, and during the first forty days of their search, the direction of the course would be set by Dulmo. Presumably forty days were thought sufficient to reach the seven cities. At the expiration of this time, Estreito would take command, and Dulmo was bound by the agreement to remain in the subordinate position until their return.

It is clear from this that Estreito's plans were more extensive than were those of Dulmo. While the latter deemed forty days enough to attain his object, the former was prepared to

²⁹ " . . . e asy lhe fizessemos mercee de toda a justica com alçada de poder emforçar, matar, e de toda outra pena criminal da dita ylha ou ylhas e terra firme pavoradas e despavoradas, com todallas remdas e direitos que em as ditas ylhas e terra se poder aver pera elle dito Fernam Dulmo e herdeiros e decemdemtes; . . . " *Alguns Documentos*, p. 58.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

spend six months in the search. To call this an expedition with the purpose of discovering America may seem ludicrous, but the discovery would certainly have resulted, in the year 1487, had the adventurous pair sailed, which they evidently did not.

The evidence of interest on the part of individual Portuguese in the west is overwhelming. Previous mention has been made of the record of Las Casas and Galvão of the discovery of a western island. Las Casas also refers to a certain Antonio Leme of Madeira, who sighted lands to the west.³¹ In 1457, King Affonso V. made his brother Fernando a present of all the islands the latter might discover in the Atlantic.³² At about the same time, Pedro de Valasco and Diogo de Tieve, both Portuguese, sailed more than 150 leagues westward of Fayal and on their return discovered the island of Flores. Columbus learned this from Velasco, whom he afterward met at the monastery of La Rabida.³³ In 1462, Gonçalo Fernandes of Tavira desired to discover new lands beyond Madeira and the Canaries and obtained royal permission to do so.³⁴ Eleven years later, Ruy Gonçalves da Camara applied for and obtained leave to make a similar discovery.³⁵

To avoid a tedious enumeration of all the pre-Columbian voyages westward from Portugal and the islands, it is enough to say that the list of such achievements is long. While we need not postulate a discovery of America from each incident, we see that such a thing was likely to have occurred, probably more than once. The fact of abundant activity in that direction from the mainland, Madeira, and the Azores is established.

Scattered evidences pointing to a pre-Columbian acquaintance with Brazil by the Portuguese have been presented. To these may be added the testimony of the Treaty of Tordesillas

³¹ *Op. cit.*, I. 98.

³² Batalha-Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 200. *Alguns Documentos*, p. 22.

³³ Las Casas, *op. cit.*, I. 100.

³⁴ *Alguns Documentos*, p. 32.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

of June 7, 1494, which rectified the terms of the Papal Bull of Demarcation of the previous year. It is suspected, at present, that Portugal had previously learned of a stretch of coast in the South Atlantic, situated at least 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, since it insisted upon precisely that position for the demarcation limit.³⁶ The Catholic Sovereigns, in a letter addressed to Columbus, September 5, 1493, stated that Portuguese diplomats had let slip certain information about such lands to the southwest.³⁷

Columbus knew that the Portuguese stand at Tordesillas was based upon some knowledge, as his third voyage demonstrates. Las Casas, who quotes freely from the Admiral's diary, records the latter as saying, while at the Cape Verde Islands in 1498, that he intended to go southward to find, with the aid of the Holy Trinity, islands and mainland and also to verify the statement of King João of Portugal who insisted that mainland would be found to the west.

Even while Columbus speculated at São Tiago in the Cape Verdes, Portugal was putting its late king's information to the test. João II. died the year following the Tordesillas negotiations, leaving to his successor Manoel the glory of achieving what had been planned in his own less spectacular reign. The new king, while lacking the ability of his predecessor,³⁸ did not lack energy and ambition. Two years after the commencement of his reign, he despatched Vasco da Gama to India on the portentous voyage which represented the culmination of a century of Portuguese effort. A year later, in

³⁶ See Fidelino de Figueiredo, *Estudos de história americana* (São Paulo, 1927), pp. 30-31; also Jaime Cortesão, "Le traité de Tordesillas et la découverte de l'Amérique," *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti* (Roma, 1926), II. 679.

³⁷ Martin Fernández de Navarrete, *Colección de los viajes y descubrimientos*, II. (Madrid, 1825), 109.

³⁸ With true discernment, posterity has surnamed João *O Príncipe Perfeito*, while giving Manoel the questionable honor of the title *Venturoso*. João's appellation means "complete", in the sense of a well-balanced and finished individual; not "perfect", as is often assumed. *Venturoso* means "happy" or "fortunate".

1498, while Gama's fate was still unknown, the king sent Duarte Pacheco Pereira to make a voyage of investigation along the South American coast. In fulfilling his orders, Pacheco anticipated Pedro Álvares Cabral by two years.

Duarte Pacheco Pereira, a daring navigator and leonine warrior, was one of the heroes of the Portuguese golden age. Because of his later exploits in India, he was called the "Lusitanian Achilles" by the national poet, Camões.³⁹ Pacheco's name is found in the annals of exploration as early as 1488. Six years later he was one of the maritime experts attached to the commission which made the Treaty of Tordesillas.⁴⁰ Since he must have been familiar at that time with all the available data concerning lands in the South Atlantic, his selection in 1498 to command an investigating expedition was logical.

Secrecy surrounded Pacheco's voyage, but there is no reason to question its authenticity, since our knowledge of it comes from the reliable navigator himself. In 1505, Pacheco wrote a geographical treatise bearing the curious name of *Esmeraldo de situ orbis*.⁴¹ The fact that this work is dedicated to King Manoel and addressed to him as if in an interview leads us to believe that it was never intended for popular consumption. The most significant part of the book is a brief passage, which may be translated as follows:

And beyond what has been said, experience, which is the mother of all things, undeceives us and removes all our doubts; and we have seen, most-happy Prince, when in the third year of your reign in the year of our Lord fourteen-hundred and ninety-eight, whence your Highness sent us to discover the western region, passing beyond the greatness of the Ocean Sea, where there is found and traversed so large a mainland, with many large islands adjacent to it, that it extends seventy degrees of latitude from the equator toward the

³⁹ *Os Lusíadas*, X. 12.

⁴⁰ *Alguns Documentos*, p. 79.

⁴¹ Two editions of this work exist. The earlier, published in Lisbon in 1892, was edited by Rafael Eduardo de Azevedo Basto. The second (Lisbon, 1905) was by Augusto Epiphany da Silva Dias. The later edition is in some respects superior to the earlier, and is the one here cited.

north pole and . . . is heavily populated, and from the same equator it extends twenty-eight and a half degrees toward the south pole, and it stretches to such a length that at neither extremity has its termination or cape been seen."⁴²

That Pacheco is reliable here is evidenced by the fact that he is writing for the very king who had sent him upon the expedition seven years before. He would scarcely remind Manoel of a voyage made in the royal service unless that ruler had actually despatched him.

The author of the *Esmeraldo* does not say that he traversed the American coast from 70° north to 28° south: he says that the continent has this extent. Writing in 1505, he had the advantage of knowing of the explorations of Vespuccius, the Côte-Reals, and Cabot, and of how they had broadened the conception of the New World. Pacheco, it will be noted, did not confuse America with the coast of Asia, but resolutely described his discovery simply as a continent.

There is one question regarding the Pacheco voyage which must be faced fairly before any more can be said. Why is our knowledge of it confined to one piece of evidence, convincing though it is? We shall find our answer in an examination of the political situation at the time. In October, 1497, a marriage of state occurred between King Manoel and Princess Isabel, daughter of the rulers of Spain.⁴³ This, coupled with the death of Prince Juan, the brother of Isabel, made Manoel, through his wife, heir to the thrones of Castile, Aragon, and Leon. In 1498, the pair made a journey through Spain, being acclaimed as future king and queen. These circumstances, in the very year of Pacheco's exploration, explain its secrecy, for Manoel was naturally reticent about giving offense to Spain, of which he hoped soon to be king. Yet even this did not prevent him from looking to Portugal's

⁴² *Esmeraldo de situ orbis*, p. 23.

⁴³ Fortunato de Almeida, *História de Portugal*, II. (Coimbra, 1923), 209. The bride was the widow of Prince Affonso, son of the late King João II. The prince died July 12, 1491. *Ibid.*, II, 161.

interests. The line of Tordesillas had not been adequately located, and there was a growing Spanish interest in the southern Atlantic, as evidenced by the voyage of Columbus in that same year. Obviously the time had come to act upon the late King João's knowledge of a land to the southwest. Hence the voyage of Duarte Pacheco and the secrecy which attended it.

The *Esmeraldo de situ orbis* was unpublished until 1892, the fourth centenary of Columbus's discovery, and therefore references to Pacheco's voyage are not found in older historical works. In Portugal and Brazil, the authenticity of the expedition now finds unquestioned acceptance by most scholars.⁴⁴

The year after Pacheco's voyage, which must be regarded as one of reconnaissance or verification, Vasco da Gama returned from the Malabar coast with a cargo of spices. Portugal's mariners had reached their goal, and no time was lost in following up the advantage. Gama's experiences had proved that powerful enemies lurked in the eastern seas, so the next fleet must go prepared to conquer as well as to trade. Accordingly, the expedition that left the Tagus in 1500, commanded by Cabral, was formidable.

The choice of the supreme commander, or *Capitão-Mór*, was in certain respects a curious one. Pedro Álvares Cabral, then about thirty-three years of age, was an able, resolute man, but certainly not a skilful seaman. He was wealthy and was allied to the leading families of Portugal, but there is no reason to believe that he had ever made a voyage before. By the standards of the time, the selection of Cabral was fitting; it was as an important *fidalgo* rather than as a mariner that he was given the command. This expedition called for a high-born leader, who would be a suitable representative of the proud and powerful King Manoel. Doubtless, the unusual

⁴⁴ Luciano Pereira da Silva, "Duarte Pacheco Pereira," *História de colonização*, I. 231-259, furnishes a brief biographical sketch, accompanied by some interesting illustrations.

array of nautical talent accompanying the fleet was to counter-balance the deficiencies of the Capitão-Mór.

Unfortunately, the royal instructions to Cabral are only partly extant, and the surviving fragment is silent as to the first and, for us, most important part of the voyage.⁴⁵ For this reason, we are left to conjecture the nature of the orders. The very fact that only a portion of Cabral's instructions remain may be significant. Manoel's delicate relations with Spain and his fear of offending that country may have caused the immediate destruction of the first part of the orders; for if they concerned any part of the New World, it would not have been safe to publicise them.

There is in existence a list of suggestions, prepared by Vasco da Gama for Cabral, which was evidently dictated by the former to a secretary, who confined himself to writing brief notes. The instructions begin, "This is the way which it seemed to Vasco da Gama that Pedralvarez Cabral should go on his journey, it pleasing the king".⁴⁶ The suggestions say nothing about landing on the American coast, but Gama had no first-hand experience in this matter. The only contribution he could make was his knowledge of the route to the cape and India. His general advice to Cabral was that, after leaving the Cape Verde Islands, the expedition should keep well to the west.

Practised mariners commanded the ships of the squadron.⁴⁷ Among them were Bartolomeu Dias, the discoverer of the Cape of Good Hope; and Nicoláo Coelho, who had sailed with Gama; so the best information regarding the South Atlantic was available. Duarte Pacheco, although not a ship

⁴⁵ *Alguns Documentos*, pp. 97-107.

⁴⁶ *História da colonização*, I. xvii. The original belonged to the Brazilian historian Varnhagen but disappeared after his death.

⁴⁷ Cabral's ship commanders, despite some divergences among the sources, seem to have been Sancho de Tovar, second in command; Gaspar de Lemos; Simão de Miranda; Nicoláo Coelho; Vasco D'Ataíde; Bartolomeu Dias; Aires Gomes da Silva; Nuno Leitão da Cunha; Diogo Dias, brother of Bartolomeu; Simão de Pina; Pero D'Ataíde; and Luis Pires.

commander, accompanied the fleet, and his presence strengthens the conviction that Cabral's mission was concerned with Brazil as well as India.

Fernão Lopes de Castanheda,⁴⁸ João de Barros,⁴⁹ Damião de Góis,⁵⁰ and Gaspar Correia⁵¹ furnish the literary sources of the Cabral voyage.⁵² Castanheda and Barros, although contemporaries, wrote independently of each other, their works appearing in 1551 and 1552 respectively. Góis, whose *Chronica* was published in 1566, could and probably did make use of his predecessors' writings, although the content of his work shows that he had additional sources. The *Lendas* of Correia, the least reliable of the four, were not published during his lifetime, and for that reason there is doubt as to the exact period of their composition. A modern commentator says that Correia merits absolute confidence only when he describes the events in which he participated, or those which he witnessed or heard from the lips of those present.⁵³

Among the sources must be listed three accounts written by members of the expedition, which are: 1. A short letter by Mestre João to King Manoel, written from Porto Seguro, Brazil, in May 1500.⁵⁴ 2. The letter of Pero Vaz de Caminha to the same king at the same time.⁵⁵ 3. The description by the

⁴⁸ *História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia* (Lisboa, 1833). "History of the discovery and conquest of India by the Portuguese, between the years 1497 and 1525; from the original Portuguese of Hernan Lopes de Castaneda," *A general history of voyages and travels*, Robert Kerr, ed., II. (Edinburgh and London, 1824).

⁴⁹ *Da Asia*, dec. I, liv. V, cap. I-II.

⁵⁰ *Chronica D'El-Rei D. Manuel* (Lisboa, 1909), II. cap. liv-lvi, *Bibliotheca de classicos portugueses*.

⁵¹ *Lendas da Índia* (Lisboa, 1858), I. 145-152.

⁵² These have been compared and summarized by Sousa Viterbo, "As primeiras narrativas do descobrimento do Brasil," *Academia das Sciencias de Lisboa. Boletim da segunda classe*, V. (Lisboa, 1912), 366-376.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 368.

⁵⁴ *Alguns Documentos*, pp. 122-123, and *História da colonização*, II. 104-105.

⁵⁵ The text is published in *Alguns Documentos* (pp. 108-121) and in *História da colonização* (II. 86-99), in which several facsimile pages are shown. See also J. Capistrano de Abreu, "Vaz de Caminha e sua carta", *Revista do*

so-called anonymous pilot, first published in a Venetian book in 1507.⁵⁶ Of these, the first is chiefly notable for its mention of an important map, the second is a detailed and valuable description, while the third contributes no information not available elsewhere. These documents, however, plus the accounts of the historians, are adequate and enable us to reconstruct in some detail the voyage to Brazil.

The expedition was planned on an elaborate scale. Now that the road to India was open, no expense was spared to insure success. All accounts agree that there were thirteen ships, although differing in a few cases regarding the commanders' names. Over twelve hundred soldiers and seamen⁵⁷ manned an armada composed of the finest ships of the realm. Since the chief purpose of the voyage was commercial, and spices must be purchased, money and merchandise in large quantities were carried. To impress the Indian potentates with their splendor, the officers took uniforms of the costliest materials. Armaments received full attention, however, as Gama's experience had taught the unreliable character of eastern rulers.

Sunday, March 8, was the day on which the farewell ceremonies were held. King Manoel honored the departure from Restelo⁵⁸ with his presence; and, as it was a holiday, thousands from nearby Lisbon came to witness the spectacle. At the small hermitage of Belem, the officials of the squadron took their last mass on shore. Diogo Ortiz, Bishop of Ceuta, a learned patron of discovery who stood high in the councils of the nation, preached the sermon. When the service was over, the king passed a banner to Ortiz, who blessed it and put it in Cabral's hands. A cap which had been sent from Rome with

Instituto Histórico e Geographico Brasileiro, LXXI. (Rio de Janeiro, 1909), part II, 109-122.

⁵⁶ *História da colonização*, pp. 106-177; and "Navegação do capitão Pedro Alvares Cabral," *Collecção de noticias para a historia e geografia das nações ultramarinas*, II. (Lisboa, 1812), 107-139.

⁵⁷ Barros, *op. cit.*, I. V, i, 384. Castanheda says 1500.

⁵⁸ Now called Belem. A seaport town on the Tagus, a little below Lisbon.

the Pope's blessing was placed upon the Capitão-Mór's head by the bishop. Behind a religious procession, the officers marched to the shore, where they took their leave of King Manoel, each bowing to kiss his hand. Small boats thronged the harbor, their masts and sails gaily decorated; so that, in the words of Barros, "It seemed not a sea but a field of flowers". When all were on board, they waited through the night until the early morning hours and then put to sea.

Once out of the Tagus, the ships steered for the Cape Verde Islands. This preliminary part of the journey went well, for within five days they were off Tenerife in the Canaries and by the 22d had sighted São Nicoláu.⁵⁹ With their arrival at this point, discordance begins among those who narrate Cabral's voyage. Thus far, the fleet had followed the track of Dias and Gama, but here the divergence began. Dias had made a coasting voyage, keeping Africa in sight almost to the latitude of Good Hope.⁶⁰ Gama, as a glance at the chart of his journey shows, took a southeasterly course from the Cape Verde Islands, swerved to southwest at about latitude 4° N., and crossed the Equator at approximately 19° W. From this point, he described a huge arc in the South Atlantic, striking the African coast at 30° S., a little above the cape.⁶¹ Some have toyed with the theory that he was aware, from various signs, of the existence of land to the west, although certainly never sighting it.⁶² This erroneous supposition comes from a

⁵⁹ In the Cape Verde group. All the authorities save Correia are in agreement as to the dates. The latter (*Lendas da Índia*, I. 150) gives March 25 as the day of departure and thereby confuses his entire chronology.

⁶⁰ "... todavia passado o rio de Congo começou Bartholomeu Dias seguir a costa té chegar onde ora se chama a Angra do Salto . . ." Barros, *op. cit.*, I. III, iv, 185.

⁶¹ The best tracing of Gama's route is the map in *A Journal of the first Voyage of Vasco da Gama* (London, Hakluyt Society, 1898), E. G. Ravenstein, ed.

⁶² J. J. da Fonseca, author of *Descobrimento do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1895), is thus quoted in *História da colonização*, I. xxii. Also Zeferino Candido, "O 4o centenario do descobrimento do Brazil," *Instituto Histórico e Geographico Brasileiro. Commemoração solemne do quarto centenario do descobrimento do Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1901), p. 171. Candido says "O Gama passára a

statement in the journal of Gama's voyage to the effect that at one point land birds resembling herons were seen flying to the SSE.⁶³ This passage, which means that the birds were flying toward Africa, has been misunderstood through someone's error in changing the direction to SSW., making America their destination. We have no other indication that Gama was in any way concerned with the New World.

Cabral, after leaving the Cape Verde Islands, seemingly gave no heed to the examples of his predecessors. Steering SSW. from the islands, he deliberately ran into the belt of calms which he might have been expected to avoid.⁶⁴ For approximately 13 longitudinal degrees the Portuguese preserved this course without apparent deviation.

Those who believe in an accidental discovery of Brazil speak at this point of storms, currents, or loss of direction. The sources do not lend the slightest support to any such assumption; since Caminha, Castanheda, Barros, Góis, and Correia may be studied in vain for hints of such accidents. Later historians invented these hypotheses to account for an occurrence which they could not otherwise explain. The beginning of the legend is traceable to Antonio Galvão, who, in the sixteenth century, described Cabral's discovery as follows:

In the yeere 1500 and in the moneth of March, one Pedro Áluarez Cabral sailed out of Lisbon with 13 ships, with commandment not to come neere the coast of Africa to shorten his way; and he losing the sight of one of his ships went to seeke her, and in seeking of her lost his course and sailed till he came within sight of land.⁶⁵

região equinocial batido pela tormenta; soffrera grossa avaria na sua S. Gabriel e, nesse estado duas vezes lamentoso, percebera distinctamente signaes de terra; andava ão lado da costa brasileira que condições invenciveis lhe não permittiram procurar."

⁶³ *A Journal of the first Voyage of Vasco da Gama*, p. 4.

⁶⁴ Needless to say, there exists no means of tracing or checking Cabral's exact route through the equatorial regions. The present study is based upon what seem the most likely conjectures.

⁶⁵ *The Discoveries of the World*, p. 95.

It is true that the ship commanded by Vasco D'Ataíde was lost near São Nicoláu; but Caminha, a witness of the events, testifies that the Capitão-Mór ordered a short search, which proved fruitless, and then continued the voyage. To assume from this incident the loss of way by a fleet which bore Coelho and Dias, both familiar with the route to the cape, is to exceed reasonable limits. Caminha regarded the vessel's disappearance as surprising, since there was no bad weather at the time.⁶⁶ This testimony disposes of the storm speculation.

After Galvão had given impetus to the theory of accidental discovery, the story grew until it gained virtually universal acceptance. In the eighteenth century, Guillaume Raynal arrayed the legend in its final trappings when he wrote:

To avoid the calms of the African coast, Cabral sailed so far that he found himself in sight of an unknown land, situated to the west. A storm obliged him to seek shelter there. He moored his ships to the coast, at fifteen degrees south latitude, in a place which he called Porto-Seguro.⁶⁷

So deeply was the accident version now rooted that in the nineteenth century such scholars as Humboldt⁶⁸ and Varnhagen⁶⁹ believed in it, ascribing the discovery to the currents. Outside the Portuguese-speaking nations, it still finds general acceptance.

No experienced navigator who has studied minutely the history of Cabral's discovery has concurred in the opinion that it was accidental.⁷⁰ To set out for the Cape of Good Hope

⁶⁶ *Alguns Documentos*, p. 108.

⁶⁷ *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des européens dans les deux Indes* (Genève, 1780), II. 360.

⁶⁸ Alexandre de Humboldt, *Examen critique de la géographie du nouveau continent*, V. (Paris, 1839), 48.

⁶⁹ Francisco Adolpho de Varnhagen, Visconde de Porto Seguro, *História geral de Brasil ante de sua separação e independência de Portugal* (Rio de Janeiro, 1877), I. 71.

⁷⁰ Some naval officers who have rejected the accidental theory are Ernest Mouchez, *Les Côtes du Brésil* (Paris, 1864); and A. Baldaque da Silva, "O Descobrimento do Brasil por Pedro Alvares Cabral," *Memorias da Comissão Portuguesa da Exposição Colombina* (Lisboa, 1892).

and to arrive at Porto Seguro, Brazil, is hardly a maritime feat of high order; and a severe storm, rather than currents, would be required to account for it. Such a storm, furthermore, would have to come from the northeast, the east, or the southeast to serve the purpose. Actually, such tempests as do occur in the South Atlantic during the months of March and April come from the west. The effect would thus be to drive the Portuguese fleet away from Brazil rather than toward it. Aside from this evidence, a mere reading of the authorities eliminates the storm theory; Caminha specifically mentions good weather.⁷¹

As to currents, it requires but a look at an oceanic chart to see that Cabral's course was in no way affected by them. They have slight effect, even upon sailing vessels. Unless we picture Cabral as drifting helpless, day after day, an assumption which is disproven by his remarkable sailing time, we cannot admit adverse currents as featuring to an important degree.⁷²

Returning to the progress of the voyage, we find the Capitão-Mór, after the unsuccessful hunt for D'Ataide's ship, deciding to proceed without the lost vessel. The question of who should set the course from this point depended upon the fleet's objective. The men best qualified were Bartolomeu Dias, Nicoláo Coelho, and Duarte Pacheco, as all three had previously traversed parts of the South Atlantic. Since, with every opportunity to make for the cape, Cabral steadily approached Brazil, it is a fair assumption that Pacheco was his pilot.

On the 21st of April, signs of nearby land were seen in the form of floating vegetation and flying birds. Before evening

⁷¹ *Alguns Documentos*, p. 108.

⁷² Cabral's journey from the Tagus to the first sight of Brazil (latitude 17°S) took 44 days. Mouchez (*op. cit.*, section II, 116) writes, "Sa traversée fut du reste singulièrement rapide, puisqu'il mit un peu moins d'un mois pour aller des îles du cap Vert à Porto-Seguro. Pour parcourir cette distance de 800 lieues au milieu de laquelle on a à traverser la zone des calmes de l'équateur, beaucoup de navires, encore de nos jours [1864] emploient plus de temps." Quoted in *História da colonização*, II. 61.

the next day, a coastline appeared, of which the most conspicuous feature was a mountain they immediately named "Monte Pascoal".⁷³

We do not gain the impression from Caminha that the finding of land was a surprise, since in his letter he states, as if the purpose were well understood by all, "And thus we followed our course westward through this sea until on Tuesday . . . April 21, we found some signs of land. . . ."⁷⁴

The ships anchored some distance from shore that night, but in the morning they moved closer and made fast before the mouth of a river.⁷⁵ Natives had already been spied on shore, and a few boats were rowed to the beach, where attempts at conversation took place. It was hopeless, of course, and the best the Portuguese could do was to exchange a few small gifts with the Indians.

That night the wind was heavy, and Cabral and his officers decided that the vicinity of Monte Pascoal did not offer a safe anchorage. Therefore, on the following morning the journey was resumed, northward this time, along the shore of the land already named Vera Cruz. A day and a half later, the expedition found a slight indentation of the coast, which today bears the name of Baía Cabralia, and made its second stop. Here Cabral summoned a council of officers and put before them the advisability of dispatching one ship to Portugal with a report. After some discussion, it was resolved to send the vessel.

At this point Caminha and Mestre João prepared the letters which were to go to Lisbon for King Manoel. Caminha's

⁷³ "Easter Mountain".

⁷⁴ "E assim seguimos nosso caminho, por êste mar de longo, até que terça-feira . . . que foram 21 dias de Abril, topamos alguns sinais de terra, . . ." *História da colonização*, II. 87. "Nosso caminho" certainly refers to the course prescribed in Cabral's orders. "Por êste mar de longo" is properly translated as "westward through this sea"; as "longo", which Caminha several times uses implying west, has the same derivation as "longitude".

⁷⁵ The exact Portuguese landfall is not definitely established. For speculations on this subject, see José Francisco da Rocha Pombo, *História do Brasil*, I. (Rio de Janeiro, 1905), and *História da colonização*, II. 118-129. The river Cahy was probably the one referred to by Caminha.

was very long and gave a somewhat detailed description of the voyage and their discoveries to date. Mestre João's was shorter, confining itself chiefly to scientific and astronomical data. In addition, he included the following highly significant passage:

Concerning the location of this land, Senhor, if your Highness will send for a map belonging to Pero Vaz Bisagudo, your Highness will be able to see there the location of this land; but the map does not state whether this country is inhabited or not; it is an old map and your Highness will find that Mina is shown on it.⁷⁶

In this we see our final proof that Brazil was not being visited by Portuguese for the first time. Mestre João was a scholarly man and not likely to be impressed by a map which was not trustworthy. His belief that Bisagudo's map was old seems to mean that it antedated 1492, indicating a pre-Columbian voyage to Brazil by Portuguese.

It is not the present purpose to describe the earliest European impressions of the country.⁷⁷ Cabral had accomplished the first part of his mission, to touch and explore slightly the western shore of the South Atlantic and to establish Portugal's sovereignty there. That task completed, it was his business to round the cape and enter the Indian Ocean. In his eyes and those of his government a wild land peopled by naked savages was of small importance compared with the riches of the east. Brazil mattered chiefly because it made surer the possession of India.

On the 2d of May, the fleet set sail again and proceeded to the cape, leaving as signs of its visit a wooden cross raised as a symbol of ownership, and two "degredados", who discon-

⁷⁶ "Quanto, Señor, al sytyo desta tierra, mande Vosa Alteza traer un napa-mundi que tyene Pero Vaaz Bisagudo, e por ay podera ver Vosa Alteza el sytyo desta tierra; en pero, aquel napamundi non çertyfica esta tierra ser habytada, o no. Es mapamundi antiguo, y ally fallara Vosa Alteza escripta tanbyen la Mina." *Alguns Documentos*, p. 122. *História da colonização*, II. 104.

⁷⁷ The anonymous pilot wrote, ". . . we could not tell whether it was an island or mainland, although we inclined to the latter opinion because of its large size. . . ." *História da colonização*, II. 115.

solately watched the others depart. In view of the fact that Brazil's discovery has been attributed to loss of direction, it is significant that Cabral had not the slightest difficulty, despite a storm which destroyed four of his vessels,⁷⁸ in steering for Boa Esperança.

Brazil had been revealed to the world by Cabral, and this time the knowledge could not be suppressed. Portugal rightly felt that the time had come to divulge it. As King Manoel stated in his letter to Ferdinand and Isabella announcing the discovery, this new land would serve as a convenient point for breaking the now regular Portuguese journeys around the cape.

The names of Pinzón and Lepe have been advanced with reference to the discovery of Brazil, since they probably sighted its north shores a few months before Cabral. These haphazard, groping Spanish efforts, however, belong in a different category from the organised, perfectly planned Portuguese achievements. Cabral, who was but the central figure in a series of explorations, formed the connecting link between those mariners who had clandestinely preceded him and those who were to bring his country's work to fulfilment in Brazil.

It has been rightly observed that Spain's accomplishments in the era of discovery were the work of heroic but irresponsible adventurers, while Portugal's, carefully planned and systematically conducted, steadily furthered the national policy.⁷⁹ Portugal knew always far more than was revealed.

⁷⁸ Among those lost was Bartolomeu Dias. The surviving ships were scattered, but they reunited and proceeded to Melinda in East Africa, their next destination. This authentic disaster doubtless furnished a basis for the legendary storm in which Raynal believed.

⁷⁹ "Si comparamos la epopeya de la conquista de América por los españoles con los descubrimientos que efectuaron los marinos portugueses, hay que convenir en que tampoco faltó á Camoens una epopeya que cantar. La nuestra, la de Castilla, fué realizada en el exterior por aventureros heroicos; la de Portugal fué realizada en el interior por los Reyes, los Infantes, los Consejeros, por aquellos colosos capaces de concebir, preparar y llevar á feliz término una labor de titanes." Pedro de Novo y Colson, "Informe sobre las obras presentadas por el Señor Bensaúde," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la História*, LXVIII. (Madrid, 1916), 402.

There is error in the shallow assertion based on the Columbus fiction that the Portuguese rejected entirely the western route of exploration. It is hoped that the present work has shown definitely that such was not the case, and that they rejected it only as a means of getting to Asia.

✓ In the Atlantic, the pioneer work of exploration was Portugal's. Its people colonised Madeira, the Azores, and the Cape Verdes. As early as 1498 South America had been reached by them and its finding memorialised on Bianco's map. Yearly, adventurous Portuguese sailed westward, sometimes making discoveries, sometimes failing. Every vessel that passed Cape Verde before 1500 stood a chance of anticipating Cabral, and several evidently did so. In 1494, João II. knew of the great southern continent, and the Treaty of Tordesillas bears witness to the accuracy of that knowledge, as Columbus himself revealed. Within six years the Tordesillas pact had led to three Portuguese expeditions of discovery. Duarte Pacheco, proceeding in secrecy because of Spanish jealousy, once and for all verified the existence and location of South America. Cabral, guided by his predecessor, established Portuguese ownership of Brazil. Côte-Real, whose voyage is less relevant to the present subject, sailed to Newfoundland, and there is evidence to indicate that he also merely verified an earlier discovery. From the explorations of this trio, Portugal learned which parts of the New World were allowed it by the Tordesillas agreement.

To study the maritime achievements of Prince Henry's successors is to reach the conclusion that many points are still debatable. The known facts, however, reveal a system and symmetry which testify to powerful minds planning and directing. The itinerary of Cabral in 1500, which embraced four continents in a single voyage, furnishes perhaps the best illustration.

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THE CENTRAL AMERICAN POLICY OF LORD PALMERSTON, 1846-1848

On January 28, 1860, the famous Mosquito controversy between the United States and Great Britain came to an end with the signing of a treaty between Great Britain and Nicaragua providing for the termination of the Mosquito protectorate.¹ This protectorate, which was a unique problem in the foreign policy of the United States, has been the subject of frequent comment and study already.² But there are certain salient features about it which make additional observation worthwhile.

Documents in the private papers of Lord John Russell and in the foreign office archives show that twelve years of fruitless bickering with the United States could have been avoided, had Lord Palmerston listened in the first place to the counsels of other heads better cognizant of the situation in Central America than he.

Earl Grey, the colonial secretary in the Russell cabinet, for instance on March 6, 1848, in a letter to Lord John, quoted below, voiced his decided opinion against the extension of British dominion in Central America and outlined a solution for the Mosquito imbroglio which was followed almost exactly

¹ *Parliamentary Papers*, 1860, Coms. LXVIII, "Correspondence respecting Central America," pp. 315-318.

² E. G. Squier, *Nicaragua; its People, Scenery, Monuments, and the proposed interoceanic Canal* (2 vols., 1852), I. 8; L. M. Keasby, "The Terms and Tenor of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty", in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, XIV. (November, 1899), 285-302; Ira D. Travis, *The History of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty* (Michigan Political Science Association, III. No. 8, 1900; A. P. Newton, "United States and Colonial Developments", in *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy* (New York, 1923) II. 265-266; M. W. Williams, *Anglo-American Isthmian Diplomacy, 1815-1915* (Washington, 1916); G. F. Hickson, "Palmerston and the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty," in *Cambridge Historical Journal*, III. (1929-1931), 295-303; Dexter Perkins, *The Monroe Doctrine, 1826-1867* (Baltimore, 1933), pp. 162-170.

in the treaty of 1860. Grey's plan provided that the Mosquito king should sell out his claim to Greytown and the land along the San Juan River to the state of Nicaragua, in return for which Nicaragua would recognize the king in the rest of his domain.³ The only modification of this by the treaty of 1860 was that Mosquito was declared autonomous under the sovereignty of Nicaragua.

Sir Charles Grey, the governor of Jamaica, also took a hand in Mosquito affairs and, in November of 1847, called attention to the need for an expeditious settlement of the problem. The San Juan River and the town at its mouth were of international importance, he wrote, and if Great Britain continued to trifle over them some other great power would not unlikely seize them.⁴

When the Nicaraguans made a sortie against Greytown in January, 1848, Sir Charles personally approved of Captain Loch's going in a naval vessel to recapture the place,⁵ and a little later Sir Charles took the responsibility upon himself of sending Major Sparkes, a seasoned officer who had seen service in South Africa, to supervise affairs at Greytown.⁶ Why not declare the delta of the river "March Land", he asked. Let the boundaries be fixed sometime in the future, and let the share of each of the Central American states in the commerce and revenue of the town be determined by treaty. The situation demands that England should hold for some years possession of the whole of the lower part of the river. It should regulate and collect the customs duties upon the most

³ *Russell Papers*, G. and D. 22/7. Grey to Russell, March 6, 1848.

The land of the Mosquito king is said to have been called "Mosquitia" at this time (Williams, *Anglo-American Isthmian Diplomacy, 1815-1915*, p. 44). Various British officials, including Lord Grey, sometimes referred to it as such, but it was never accepted fully as a title for the country. Lord Palmerston consistently refused to use the term, contemptuously referring to it as a "Latin barbarism".

⁴ Sir C. Grey to Lord Grey, Mosquito Coast, No. 1, November 22, 1847. F. O. 53/14.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 6, February 4, 1848.

⁶ Sir C. Grey to Palmerston, March 9 and April 5, 1848. F. O. 53/13.

liberal principles for the benefit of the general interests of commerce, and under a sort of trust for the special and joint use of the three Central American states, apportioning the net proceeds of the duties among them.⁷

But Palmerston did not concur with these ideas. He had already drawn the boundaries of Mosquito between Cape Honduras on the north and the left bank of the San Juan River on the south.⁸ Prior to this, Mosquito had been nominally a stretch of coast some eight hundred miles long, extending south of the San Juan River as far as the Chiriqui Lagoon. All local reports were to the effect that the coast south of the river was of greater value than that to the north, where the Indians dwelt, especially since it possessed a fine harbor site at Boca del Toro. But, since this section was thought to be open to attack, Palmerston drew the line at the San Juan.⁹ Owing to Chatfield's forethought, however, the Mosquito claim to it was kept alive,¹⁰ and for reasons which we will presently see Chatfield's action was not altogether displeasing to his chief.

To understand fully what was in Lord Palmerston's mind, we must retrogress somewhat.

As is well known, the protectorate did not originate with Palmerston, who merely defined its boundaries. It came into existence officially when Lord Aberdeen sent Patrick Walker, formerly secretary of the neighboring British colony at Belize, as a resident and adviser to the Mosquito king at Bluefields. Shortly after, Aberdeen notified the republic of New Granada, which had cast covetous eyes on the region, of the status of the Indians as an independent people under the protection of Great Britain.¹¹

⁷ *Ibid.*, May 8 and June 5, 1848, and enclosures.

⁸ *Parliamentary Papers*, 1847-1848, Coms. LXV, "Correspondence respecting the Mosquito Territory," p. 1.

⁹ Palmerston to Christie, No. 3, June 16, 1848. F. O. 53/11. Palmerston to Chatfield, No. 14, June 17, 1848. F. O. 15/50.

¹⁰ Chatfield to Palmerston, No. 44, September 11, 1847. F. O. 15/47.

¹¹ F. O. memorandum, April 28, 1845. F. O. 53/44.

Patrick Walker arrived early in 1844 in the nick of time to prevent a handful of British traders and logging operators from swindling the Indians out of their lands. The old Mosquito chief, or king, had made a number of grants to local white settlers, which apparently conflicted with one another, but three of them alone were large enough to embrace the whole of the Mosquito shore from Cape Honduras to the Chiriqui and inland to the summits of the mountains. One such grant had been made in 1841 to a Captain Willock and a Mr. Alexander of Belize and Liverpool for a consideration of one hundred and fifty dollars, and comprised two million acres along the coast near Cape Gracias à Dios.¹² Prince Charles of Prussia became interested and planned to settle a colony of Germans on the property. Some idea of the profit which Messrs. Willock and Alexander expected may be gathered from the fact that the prince was negotiating in London for a loan of thirty-two thousand pounds with which to finance the purchase. He dropped his plan only after learning that the British government emphatically frowned upon it.¹³

The largest of these grants was the so-called Shepherd grant. Samuel and Peter Shepherd were brothers who had made their home at San Juan (Greytown) ever since 1811. According to E. G. Squier, the American agent sent to Central America in 1849, Peter had been born in the United States, though he considered himself an Englishman.¹⁴ In 1824, the Shepherds were joined by a man named J. T. Haly, and together the three conducted a trade with the Indians, exchanging merchandise brought from Liverpool by way of Jamaica for tortoise shell, mahogany, sarsaparilla, hides, and specie. About 1830, however, the market for these staples of export burst, and left the Shepherds badly in the debt of the Jamaica

¹² Walker to Aberdeen, No. 20, July 21, 1845. F. O. 53/44. Christie to Palmerston, May 16, 1850. F. O. 53/45.

¹³ F. O. memorandum, March 6, 1845. F. O. 53/44. Robert Hicks to Prince Charles of Prussia, March 11, 1845. *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Squier, *Nicaragua*, I. 86.

merchants for goods which they had already sold to the Indians.¹⁵

Out of this situation the Shepherds came to have a speculator's interest in Mosquito lands. It was Peter Shepherd who took the Mosquito king down the coast south of San Juan in 1833 and set him ashore near the Chiriqui Lagoon, so that the whole of the coast might be considered his.¹⁶ Six years later the Shepherds had the whole of this region extending southward from Great River, north of Bluefields, transferred quietly to them in exchange for a release from his debts which they gave to the king.¹⁷ Henceforth, they lived in the hope of dividing up their huge grant and selling out to settlers. By so doing, they might turn a handsome profit for themselves, as well as pay off their creditors. Boca del Toro and the Chiriqui Lagoon they planned to offer to the British Government as a naval base for a round sum of three or four hundred thousand pounds.¹⁸

Patrick Walker suspended these grants immediately upon his arrival and so saved the Mosquitos, but the question did not end there. For many years, these land claims of disgruntled speculators remained alive to annoy the British foreign office. Liverpool business interests, who had sold large quantities of goods on account to the coast traders through Jamaica, would not let the matter die. When another agent succeeded Walker in 1848, he sympathized with the disappointed grantees and took up their cause with the government.¹⁹ Palmerston too came to feel that the Shepherds had a claim, and would have undertaken an adjustment had it not

¹⁵ Samuel & Peter Shepherd & J. T. Haly to Lord Stanley, November 29, 1845. F. O. 53/44.

¹⁶ Major Sparkes to Sir C. Grey, Greytown, May 23, 1848, enclosed in Sir C. Grey to Palmerston, June 5, 1848. F. O. 53/13.

¹⁷ Walker to Aberdeen, No. 30, July 10, 1844. F. O. 53/44.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, and Peter Shepherd to Lord Stanley, November 29, 1845.

¹⁹ Palmerston to Christie, No. 1, January 16, 1849; Christie to Palmerston, May 15, 1849, and May 16, 1850. F. O. 53/45.

been for the embroilment with the United States over the political status of Mosquito.²⁰

The next heard of the Shepherd grant was in 1853, when old Peter Shepherd, weary of waiting for compensation, sold out to an American lawyer named Bryce, who was linked with the Kinney filibustering enterprise of Philadelphia.²¹ It was even said that Shepherd changed his allegiance in order to effect the sale. The old man was finally persuaded by Dr. James Green, the British resident adviser and administrator at Greytown, not to transfer his claim, however, by means of a judicious pension paid from the British secret service fund.²²

Although their contact with these English residents apparently forecast their doom, the Mosquito Indians had always succeeded since 1786 in maintaining their independence against the creole and mestizo peoples of the interior. In the treaty of 1786, Spain had promised not to do violence against the Indians, and as a matter of fact made only one attempt to reoccupy the coast, an attempt which was unsuccessful.²³ Distance and geographical isolation helped the Indians, though various Central American states tried vainly to exercise dominion over them. In 1824, the Central American confederacy and the republic of New Granada agreed to partition the coast between them.²⁴ In 1838, however, when rumors of the selection of Nicaragua as a site for a canal were afloat, New Granada affected to claim the whole of Mosquito.²⁵ An Irishman named Johnson actually ran up a flag for New Granada at Boca del Toro in 1835, but with this exception the Spanish Americans remained unable to make good their claims.²⁶

²⁰ Memorandum by Lord Palmerston, December 21, 1851. F. O. 53/46.

²¹ Foote to Clarendon, June 16, 1853. F. O. 53/46.

²² Unsigned memorandum on letter from Peter Shepherd, November 3, 1854.

Ibid.

²³ F. O. memorandum April 28, 1845. F. O. 53/44.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Chatfield to Palmerston, No. 16, April 15, 1847. F. O. 15/45.

²⁶ Major Sparkes to Sir C. Grey, May 23, 1848. F. O. 53/13.

In 1839, the Central American confederacy was dissolved into five separate states—Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. None of these states, however, enjoyed *de jure* recognition at the hands of outside powers, though Frederick Chatfield, the British chargé and consul general at Guatemala, carried on *de facto* relations with them.²⁷ It was not until 1845, more than a year after the protectorate over Mosquito had been formally established, that Nicaragua and Honduras put forth claims to the coast between the San Juan and Cape Honduras.²⁸

But in the meantime, New Granada was not to be caught napping. The New Granadans were extremely anxious to have the isthmus of Panama developed as a transit route, as from time to time their government tried to interest one or more of the great powers. In 1842, for instance, it approached Great Britain, France, and the United States.²⁹ But British mails were transported across the isthmus, and early in 1846 President Mosquera again approached the British minister, Daniel O'Leary, with the proposition that Great Britain guarantee the neutrality of Panama.³⁰

The New Granadans seem also to have been haunted by a fear of the rival route at the San Juan being developed. This may be the explanation for their interest in the Mosquito territory. They had no claim to it aside from a Spanish decree of 1803 which transferred Mosquito for military purposes to the captaincy general of New Granada, but, as has been said, they pretended to interfere frequently in its affairs. It was their proposal to draw a boundary line for Mosquito at the San Juan that led Palmerston actually to take this step.³¹

²⁷ Chatfield to Palmerston, No. 3, January 28, 1847. F. O. 15/45.

²⁸ F. O. memorandum, April 28, 1845. F. O. 53/44. Chatfield later wrote that, though there was talk of the Central American states claiming the whole coast, he did not expect any of them actually to make an attempt to occupy it. Chatfield to Aberdeen, August 11, 1845. *Ibid.*

²⁹ Perkins, *The Monroe Doctrine, 1826-1867*, pp. 158-159.

³⁰ O'Leary to Aberdeen, Separate & Confidential, March 13, 1846. F. O. 55/63.

³¹ Palmerston to Chatfield, No. 2, January 30, 1847. F. O. 15/44.

Seeing that they could not acquire the whole shore, they proposed to split with Great Britain and so get the backing of a strong power in their territorial ambitions.

New Granada obtained nothing from this stealthy attempt. Palmerston ignored it when he drew the boundary, and Chatfield supplied an additional disappointment when he reserved the right bank of the river for future consideration. According to Chatfield, New Granada had tried ever since 1824 to prevent the development of Mosquito, lest it spoil the chances for Panama. Ultimately that country hoped to control the San Juan and the Nicaraguan lakes.³²

None of the Central American states, therefore, had good title to Mosquito. The Central American Confederacy and New Granada had not made good their claims at an earlier date. Nicaragua and Honduras were not states *de jure*, and were in no better position to occupy the shore than was the old confederacy. Furthermore, they raised their claims only after the protectorate had been proclaimed. Hence circumstances in 1844 lead to the conclusion that the establishment of the protectorate was a wise and proper measure on the part of the British Government, and that without some official step the Indians would have suffered at the hands of either private individuals or of the Central American states.

The later question of disposing of Mosquito was, therefore, not a question of law or of right. Aberdeen was in the right when he created the protectorate, and Nicaragua, Honduras, and New Granada were the aggressors. Palmerston found the Mosquito problem on his doorstep, and defined the boundaries so as to regularize the territory and with a view to final adjustment. What to do with Mosquito was really a question of policy, and it was in this respect that Palmerston committed a grave error.

It is now in point to consider the rôle of Mosquito in relation to the United States. Because Palmerston drew the boundaries of Mosquito while the war with Mexico was in

³² Chatfield to Palmerston, No. 16, April 15, 1847. F. O. 15/45.

progress, it has been inferred that he was thinking mostly of this country and of the demands which it would make after the expected victory.³³ To entrench British authority in Mosquito would serve several purposes in regard to this country: it would prevent us from acquiring Central America by conquest, from setting up a transit route, and, by preventing such a route from being developed might even loosen our hold on California.

The bogey of American conquest in Central America was habitually in the minds of local British agents, particularly of Frederick Chatfield. The latter, indeed, was author of a plan for a *pax Britannica*, whereby Guatemala would be backed as a buffer state against the United States, and naval bases on both sides of Central America would be seized in liquidation of monetary claims against Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua.³⁴

It is not at all likely that Palmerston was affected by the same bogey, certainly not to the same degree, and there is no proof other than that of the coincidence in time that he acted in Mosquito to anticipate the United States. This country was pictured to Palmerston as a divided land in the Mexican war. He was apprised very early that the commander-in-chief, General Scott, "disapproves of the war and is ashamed of it",³⁵ and he was kept informed of the growing unpopularity of the Polk administration in its failure to bring the war to an end. A Whig victory in the presidential campaign of 1847 was predicted with certainty.³⁶ True, Polk had uttered bold words in his Monroe doctrine message of 1845, but what terrors had the words of an unpopular president for Palmerston? Our diplomacy in Central America had been ludicrously

³³ See the authorities cited above in note 2.

³⁴ Chatfield to Palmerston, No. 3, January 28, 1847. F. O. 15/45. *Ibid.*, No. 29, March 7, 1848, and No. 35, March 28, 1848. F. O. 97/88.

³⁵ Pakenham to Palmerston, Separate & Confidential, September 28, 1846. F. O. 5/450.

³⁶ Crampton to Palmerston, No. 42, October 13, 1847. F. O. 5/471.

futile in the past,³⁷ and what ground had Palmerston for regarding them as other than empty threats?

American attention was as a matter of fact not drawn to the Central American situation until the Mexican war was practically over, and the information which it then received was from unfair and perhaps intentionally misleading sources. New Granada had received a repeated snubbing at the hands of the British Government in the matter of its favorite project regarding Panama. At last, in December, 1846, New Granada secured the backing of the United States in a neutrality agreement for the isthmus as a price for tariff concessions to this country.³⁸ The fact, however, that this treaty remained unacted upon by the senate all through 1847 gave New Granada a pretext for sending General Herrán, an ex-president, on a special mission to Washington. General Herrán was selected to go from Bogotá in September, 1847, ostensibly to urge ratification upon the Washington Government, but it was O'Leary, the British minister, who saw through the sham.³⁹ New Granada was snubbed again when Palmerston drew the Mosquito boundary in June, and Herrán's real object was to remind Polk of his bold promise to afford the Hispanic American republics protection and to enlist the United States as an ally at least to the extent of exploiting Panama. In Washington, Herrán occupied the time informing the administration and American congressmen of British schemes of aggression in defiance of the Monroe Doctrine,⁴⁰ and it was owing partly to his stories that the administration decided to send out an agent to investigate and counteract British influence.

Señor Sierra, an agent from Yucatan, was another provocative influence against Great Britain. As is well known, he came to Washington to propose the annexation of his province to this country, but Crampton, the British minister, had some

³⁷ J. B. Lockey, "Diplomatic Futility", in this REVIEW, X. 265-294.

³⁸ Perkins, *The Monroe Doctrine, 1826-1867*, p. 160.

³⁹ O'Leary to Palmerston, No. 44, September 6, 1847. F. O. 55/71.

⁴⁰ Perkins, *The Monroe Doctrine, 1826-1867*, p. 162.

reason for believing that Sierra was feeling him out as regards incorporation in the British Empire, should the United States reject his proposition.⁴¹

There is room for investigation of the influence of these two Spanish American agents on the American newspaper press and on the minds of American congressmen. It was during the time of their sojourn in Washington that American suspicion of Great Britain became intensely sensitive and their stories received enough confirmation from reports of the ill-timed plans of Chatfield to be accepted as true. To Sierra, certain stories may be quite possibly traced to the effect that arms and ammunition were being gratuitously supplied the Indian tribes of Yucatan by the British authorities of Belize with the view of destroying the Spanish race and extending a British protectorate over Yucatan similar to Mosquito.⁴² Crampton believed the manifest destiny men were fostering these and other stories in order to promote their own propaganda and force the administration's hand.

The tactic indeed, of endeavouring, whenever an acquisition of Territory is meditated [*sic*] for this country, to induce a belief that such acquisition has become necessary in order to rescue the territory in question from the impending grasp of Great Britain, has, of late become of very general application by a large and influential class of American Politicians.⁴³

Palmerston counteracted this propaganda with a full statement of his policy in Mosquito, and authorized Crampton not only to read it to the secretary of state, but to show it frankly to anyone whom he thought fit, a permission which Crampton tried to use to good effect.⁴⁴ But Palmerston vastly and unfortunately underestimated American receptivity of suspicions directed against Great Britain, a receptivity born not only of

⁴¹ Crampton to Palmerston, No. 60, Confidential, November 28, 1847. F. O. 5/472.

⁴² *Ibid.*, No. 56, May 5, 1848. F. O. 5/485.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Palmerston to Crampton, No. 13, March 24, 1848, and No. 26, June 9, 1848. F. O. 5/483.

the Central American situation but going down into the roots of our national origins, and blithely discounted American suspicion as due to "mistake and ignorance" rather than to "malice or interested motives".⁴⁵ Unhappily, Palmerston's advocacy of pitiless publicity only got him deeper into the mire.

The foreign secretary was in reality interested in forming a pact of another kind with the United States. He had scant respect for the Monroe Doctrine and our Hispanic American diplomacy, but he was keenly alive to the importance of good relations with this country. Its position as a granary, vastly enhanced by the repeal of the corn laws, and as a commercial nation with a very large merchant marine, able to help or to inflict serious damage on England in time of war did not escape him. The United States was still a country where privateers might be recruited, and with the clouds on the European horizon growing threatening in 1848, Palmerston was solicitous that no quarrel should arise with this country. That is why in January, 1848, he made a remarkable proposal to Lord John Russell. According to this plan, England and the United States should agree to a mutual arbitration pact. Neither of them should lend assistance against the other in a war between one of them and a third party. Neither country should allow its citizens to take out letters of marque from the enemy of the other, or to render other assistance against it. England might have trouble with France or Russia, which would make such a treaty extremely valuable. The United States, on the other hand, was so involved with Mexico that it might be ready to listen to such a proposal.⁴⁶

A small portion of this letter appears in Guedalla's *Palmerston*,⁴⁷ but so far-reaching was Palmerston's plan and so significant is it in relation to the events both in Europe and in America in 1848 that it deserves to be printed in full. Though

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Palmerston to Russell, January 30, 1848. G. & D. 22/7.

⁴⁷ Philip Guedalla, *Palmerston* (New York, 1927), p. 317.

this proposal never got beyond Lord John's desk, it serves to make Palmerston a pioneer in better relations with the United States. Certainly, his mind was at this time very far from thoughts of antagonizing this country.

Palmerston's Central American policy has as yet never been stated in positive terms. What, after all, was his objective? A short letter written by him to Russell on December 26, 1848, almost a year before Sir Henry Bulwer took his departure for the United States, expresses his viewpoint in a nutshell. He favored a naval base on the Pacific "as a refitting Station for our Squadron", and a reunion of the states of Central America "in a friendly League and in Connexion with Mosquito and our Honduras". By this means "we might give a great Impulse to civilization and Commerce in a Part of the World eminently favoured with the Gifts of Nature".⁴⁸

Palmerston's interest and pride in the navy needs no amplification. British seapower and colonial interests were being extended into the Pacific in his day, and the admiralty's desire for a refitting station on the Pacific side of Central America is readily understandable. A naval officer had already reported in favor of the Bay of Fonseca between Salvador and Honduras, as well as of Realejo in Nicaragua, and San Juan del Sur in Costa Rica.⁴⁹ Chatfield had coolly suggested appropriating all these places. Then there was pressure put on Palmerston to occupy the Mosquito coast south of the San Juan, and the inference was that Boca del Toro would be developed as a naval base. Chatfield, the Shepherds, Major Sparkes, Lieutenant Jolly, and Palmerston's own agent, William D. Christie, all expatiated on the superior resources of that part of the coast. The Central American states were badly in debt to British investors. There was ample pretext for adopting all these suggestions. But instead Chatfield was

⁴⁸ G. & D. 22/7.

⁴⁹ Chatfield to Palmerston, No. 62, December 20, 1847. F. O. 15/45.

curtly turned down,⁵⁰ and Palmerston relinquished the right bank of the San Juan to Costa Rica. That he was so much more moderate than his agents requires us to look elsewhere for an explanation of his ideas.

Palmerston had two *idées fixes*. They were the integrity of the Mosquito protectorate, and the voluntary reunion of the Central American states under British guidance.

The surprise attack by the Nicaraguans on Greytown on January 10, 1848, served to bring these ideas into play. In the first place, the motives of the Nicaraguans may be called in question. Nicaragua was at the time split into two rival factions, one with headquarters at the town of Granada, and the other headed by General Muñoz and by Señor Castellón, a native-born Castilian, at León. The capture of Greytown was effected by the León faction,⁵¹ but it is quite possible that it was done in order to court domestic popularity or at least to prevent the rival group from winning the laurels. The Granada faction had been sending troops down the river since the preceding November. Is it not possible that the move was undertaken by Muñoz and Castellón as much against their rivals as against the British? The fact that the Nicaraguans did not stay in Greytown, but withdrew up the river almost immediately, is a little suspicious. They had headed off their rivals, vented their spleen against the British and their hate for the contemptible "Moscos", practically without cost to themselves. A letter from an English firm doing business in Nicaragua to Chatfield, written in the preceding November, strengthens this idea. The real drift in Nicaraguan politics, it said, was to call upon Great Britain for *protection*. Castellón was very anxious to settle the Mosquito question, but he could not recognize the independence of the Indians. The opposing faction was inveterate in its blustering and had the majority in the legislature. Castellón's troops were inferior

⁵⁰ Palmerston to Chatfield, No. 15, June 17, 1848. F. O. 15/50.

⁵¹ Sir C. Grey to Lord Grey, Mosquito Coast, No. 6, February 4, 1848. F. O. 53/14.

in numbers, and if he could capture two thousand stands of arms being held in Granada he would throw himself on British protection.⁵²

This hint of a Nicaraguan alliance interested Palmerston greatly, and he authorized Chatfield to submit any proposition made by Nicaragua or any other Central American state for a closer connection.⁵³

But Palmerston did not rest there. The general situation in Central America was now so dangerous that the services of a regularly instructed agent were needed, and Palmerston appointed William D. Christie, a former member of parliament, to that post. Christie's commission as agent and consul general to Mosquito was decidedly an increase in rank and dignity over that of his predecessor. He was not to remain in Mosquito, but to go on a roving mission to Costa Rica and Nicaragua, and to explain to them that Great Britain did not intend monopoly and exclusiveness in upholding the Mosquito rights to Greytown, but freedom and facilities of trade. Palmerston wanted to see the Mosquito kingdom made the center for developing "a condition of progressively increasing Civilization and Prosperity" for all the countries for which the "St. Johns" might be considered the natural outlet.⁵⁴ Nicaragua and Costa Rica both were to have free access to the sea.

Christie touched briefly at Bluefields and Greytown, and then went on to San José, the capital of Costa Rica. There he found the Costa Ricans very much afraid of Nicaragua and in an obliging mood toward him. They would not oppose the southward extension of the Mosquito boundary, and they would gladly accept British protection themselves. Their country was rich in natural resources, and was a "much more

⁵² Chatfield to Palmerston, No. 53, November 16, 1847. F. O. 15/47.

⁵³ *Ibid.* Memorandum by Palmerston, February 6, 1848, at end of above despatch.

⁵⁴ Palmerston to Christie, No. 3, June 16, 1848. F. O. 53/11. To Chatfield, No. 6, February 29, 1848, No. 14, June 17, 1848, No. 17, July 20, 1848. F. O. 15/50.

favorable point for the work of Central American civilization" than Mosquito, where "progress is sure to be toilsome".⁵⁵

When he reached León, Christie found an atmosphere heavy with intrigue. Publicly, the "Director of the State" refused to receive him; privately the latter tried to open relations with the Englishman through a local English merchant and pretended that Mosquito would soon be recognized. An American vice-consul, Christie remarked, has been declaring that the United States intends to stop England's progress in Central America, and an American envoy [Elijah Hise] at Guatemala is said to offer much to Nicaragua and Honduras on the Mosquito question. Nicaragua is jealous of Costa Rica's rapprochement with us, and now reproaches the Costa Ricans for their former anti-Mosquito sentiments. "I do not think these people know what they are at", concluded the British agent disgustedly, "besides that they are inveterate tricksters". The only way to treat them is to act upon them through fear. . . . In Granada, he declared, he was even urged to take them over and protect their faction against the León part.⁵⁶

Palmerston's dream of a free, peaceful, and happy Central America in close alliance with England and with institutions modelled after those of Britain never became possible. If it had, it would have been merely carrying out the ideas of George Canning, the great master of British foreign policy, whose teachings Palmerston followed almost as if by instinct. In that case, there would have been no application of the Monroe Doctrine possible in Central America. Had Palmerston been a little more flexible in his stand on the Mosquito question, had he been willing to follow the plan outlined by Sir Charles Grey and relinquish the point about the independence of the Mosquitos in return for an agreement with Nicaragua and Costa Rica regarding the use of the river, he might have been successful. All that was lacking was the consent of the

⁵⁵ Christie to Palmerston, No. 13, October 14, 1848. F. O. 97/88.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 24, December 22, 1848. F. O. 53/11.

Nicaraguans. A bold stroke separating the river land from the country actually inhabited by the Indians would have brought results, *had it been in time*. But in the meantime Elijah Hise had arrived in Guatemala from the United States and was enticing the Nicaraguans with glittering promises of guaranteeing to them the whole of the country between the source of the San Juan and the sea. Hise made the Monroe Doctrine a reality in Central America! Rash and unauthorized his intrigues were. But they braced the Nicaraguans and created so much publicity in the United States that the American government was forced to declare itself openly against the Mosquito protectorate.

Protection to the Indians, therefore, was the real stumbling block, not the question of the commercial use of the river. Palmerston blindly insisted on independence for the Mosquitos under British guidance. He believed in the right of Great Britain to protect them as a people independent from the creole states, and he exaggerated this point out of all proportion to its importance. Palmerston's sincerity has been made light of in this. But it must be remembered that he often took up rashly the cause of persons or nationalities whom he regarded as oppressed. Palmerston spent his whole life dealing blows at foreign tyrants, who were sometimes imaginary. And it should further be noted in extenuation of his Mosquito policy that dealing with native chiefs as sovereigns and equals was at that time an established colonial policy of the British government, which was much under the influence of the mobilized opinion of the religious and missionary societies of the day. This device was followed as a means of protecting the native against the rapacity of white speculators and traders. To cite only one instance, the famous treaty of Waitangi of 1840 between the Maori chiefs of New Zealand and the British government was on the basis of a contract between equals, whereby the chiefs voluntarily acknowledged the sovereignty of the queen, who agreed in return to protect them in the pos-

session of their lands.⁵⁷ The Mosquito protectorate was designed to achieve the same thing, and in the case of the English speculators, as we have seen, it accomplished its end. Palmerston's policy, in fact reflected the idealistic attitude of mobilized British opinion on questions concerning backward races much better than did the more cold-blooded ideas of Lord Grey and Sir Charles Grey.

Palmerston totally failed to grasp the interest which the United States would take in Central America, and the danger of arousing a dogged spirit of resistance to British dominance in Central America which, as a matter of fact, did come to characterize this country's policy. In view of the past indifference and uncertainty of United States policy this was a pardonable error. Polk's pronouncement of 1845 was strong, but mere words left Palmerston cold.

Nor had Palmerston any enthusiasm for a canal, for he turned a deaf ear to the several proposals of New Granada and maintained a studied silence toward the eagerness avowed by James Buchanan in May, 1848, for a joint neutrality agreement between the United States and Great Britain respecting Panama.⁵⁸ When Palmerston sent Sir Henry Bulwer to the United States late in 1849, he did not include a single word about Central America or a canal in the latter's instructions.

Nevertheless, the Clayton-Bulwer treaty reversed Palmerston's position. It established the principle of equality of rights for the two powers in substitution for unilateral development of Central America under British auspices, which was what Palmerston wanted. Thus the treaty was really a remarkable gain for the United States, despite the troublesome dispute over the protected independence of Mosquito which the treaty did not solve, and represents the measure of Palm-

⁵⁷ J. S. Marais, *The Colonization of New Zealand* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 98-102.

⁵⁸ Crampton to Palmerston, No. 64, May 22, 1848. F. O. 5/485. Buchanan said that if Great Britain and the United States would agree to guarantee the "perpetual neutrality" of Panama, a company could be formed "within a week" either in London or New York with "ample funds for executing the undertaking in the shortest possible space of time".

erston's desire for good relations with this country. Palmerston gave up his dream of giving "a great Impulse to civilization and Commerce" in that then overvalued part of the world, and the mixed blessing of becoming "big brother" to the petty Central Americans ultimately fell to the United States instead of to Great Britain.

RICHARD W. VAN ALSTYNE.

State College,
Chico, California.

DOCUMENTS

(From *The Russell Papers*, G & D 22/7,
Public Record Office, London)

Private. C. O. March 6/48.

My Dear Ld John—

I enclose a despatch which I have received today from Sir Ch Grey on the affairs of the Mosquito Coast.—His conduct considering the instructns under which the naval officers are acting I consider to have been very judicious, & nothing can be more proper than his despatch to Mr. Walker, but we really must not allow ourselves to be dragged into the expense & trouble of protecting this mock king in the occupation of this territory which he cannot defend himself.

I have the strongest objectn to a virtual extension of British dominion on the continent, with all the responsibility & heavy expense it would occasion.—Our Colonial garrisons in the West Indies have been reduced to what is only sufficient for the protectn of our own possessns & I am sure we ought not to increase the number of troops we have there for the purpose of protectg the King of Mosquitia in his claims to this disputed territory.—

The course I wld suggest wld be to instruct our officers not to attempt to make any permanent establishment at the mouth of the St Juan, but to warn the authorities of Nicaragua that they must not do so either, & if in spite of our remonstrances they persist in it, I wld send ships every now & then to destroy any buildings &c they may have erected.—At the same time I would enter into negotiatns with the Nicaragua authorities & endeavor to conclude with them an

arrangement on the terms of their recognizing the King of Mosquitia & paying him a sum of money for this right on the river which he wd then formally make over to them.—It is obvious that the river is of little use to any power that does not possess both banks (without which no custom house cld be established) & as the King does not even claim this & is totally unable except at our expense to occupy even the bank he claims, he would in fact be a great gainer by such a settlement.—Though this seems so trifling an affair it is one which if not stopped at once will prove very troublesome.—

I shall send a copy of this letter to Palmerston.

Yrs very truly

GREY

Jan. 30, 1848

My dear John Russell:

If, as I hope, we shall succeed in altering our Navigation Laws and if as a consequence, Great Britain & the United States shall place their Commercial Marines upon a Footing of material Equality, with the Exception of the Coasting Trade & some other Special Matters, might not such an arrangement afford us a good opportunity for endeavouring to carry in some Degree into Execution the wish which Mr. Fox entertained in 1783, of Substituting Close Alliance in the Place of Sovereignty & Dependence as the connecting Link between the United States and Great Britain.

A Treaty for mutual Defence would no longer be applicable to the Condition of the Two Countries as independent Powers; but might they not with mutual advantage conclude a Treaty containing something like the following conditions:

1st That in all cases of Difference which may hereafter unfortunately arise between the Contracting Parties, they will in the first Place have recourse to the { mediation } of some friendly Power; arbitration } and that Hostilities shall not begin between them until every endeavour to settle their Difference by Such Means shall have proved fruitless.

2d That if Either of the Two should at any Time be at war with any other Power, no Subject or Citizen of the other Contracting Party shall be allowed to take out Letters of Marque from Such Other Power, under Pain of being treated & dealt with as a Pirate.

3d. That in such case of war between either of the Two Parties & a third Power, no Subject or Citizen of the other Contracting Party shall be allowed to enter into the Service Naval or Military of such Third Power.

4. That in Such Case of war as aforesaid neither of the Contracting Parties shall afford assistance to the Enemies of the other by Sea or by Land; unless war should break out between the Two Contracting Parties themselves after the Failure of all Endeavours to settle their differences in the Manner specified in article 1.

There might be many Cases of Misunderstanding between England on the one Hand & France or Russia on the other in which a Treaty of this Kind with the United States would be an advantageous Security to us; and on the other Hand the present Position of the United States with Regard to Mexico might render them very ready to enter into Such Engagements.

Yrs Sincerely,

PALMERSTON.

DOCUMENT

BAPTIS IRVINE'S REPORTS ON SIMÓN BOLÍVAR

Baptis Irvine, whose opinions on the South American Liberator are given below, was an Irish-American Baltimore journalist and politician with a vast enthusiasm for liberty. When appointed special agent to Venezuela on January 21, 1818, he had already behind him a turbulent political past. After serving as a journeyman printer to William Duane at Philadelphia and editing a newspaper in New York City,¹ Irvine had become one of the editors of the *Whig*, the leading democratic paper in Baltimore.² His partisan nature had sometimes led him into legal difficulties³ and he was usually present when a mob was forming in the streets of Baltimore.⁴

Bolívar's successes on the battlefield in 1818 made it desirable for the United States to have an observer on the spot. A favorable opportunity came when "Admiral" Brion seized two United States vessels and had them condemned for an alleged breach of blockade by an admiralty court of which his own secretary was judge.⁵ Irvine was thereupon commis-

¹ C. F. Adams, Ed., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, V. (Philadelphia, 1874-1877), 57. Other references to Irvine may be found in *ibid.*, IV. 53, V. 435-436, VI. 81, 105.

² J. Thomas Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore*. (Baltimore, 1874), p. 89. The authorities of the Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore City kindly furnished some of the facts concerning Irvine's life.

³ A. C. Hanson, *An accurate Report of the Argument, On a Motion of Attachment against Baptis Irvine, Editor of the Whig, for a Contempt against the Court of Oyer and Terminer for Baltimore County* (Baltimore, 1808). See also Henry Marie Brackenridge, *Recollections of Persons and Places in the West* (2d ed.; Philadelphia, 1868) pp. 140, 145.

⁴ *Niles Weekly Register*, III. (February 20, 1813), 396.

⁵ Instructions given to Irvine by J. Q. Adams, January 31, 1818. U. S. State Dept. Archives, Despatches to Consuls, II. 94-100. See also Henry M. Wriston's *Executive Agents in American Foreign Relations* (Baltimore, 1929) pp. 424-427.

sioned to seek restitution of the ships and was expected as well to report on the progress of the revolution.

Despite his record as a catch-as-catch-can politician in Baltimore, Irvine had studious tastes which led him to read widely on Venezuelan history. His was an eager mind which ferreted out much useful information from books and men. Consequently, the large volume of manuscripts in the U. S. State Department Archives which contains all his reports and correspondence constitutes a valuable source for that critical period of the revolution in Venezuela—1818 and 1819.⁶

After some preliminary diplomatic skirmishing with Bolívar, Irvine realized that the ships would not be given up and there appears in the correspondence a rising crescendo of bitterness and mutual recrimination.⁷

The importance of Irvine's candid and caustic description of Bolívar during one of the most crucial times of the Liberator's career, arises partly from the fact that he was one of the few citizens of the United States who ever saw or talked with Bolívar. This fact has not been sufficiently understood before. For example, William R. Manning's voluminous *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States concerning the Independence of the Latin American Nations* contains but

"'Cursory Notes on Venezuela,'" by Baptis Irvine, Esq., is a manuscript volume of 461 closely written folio pages dated at Baltimore September 25, 1819, and is in the U. S. Dept. of State Archives, Special Agents Series. Therein is to be found an extended survey of religious conditions, boundaries, Indians, transportation, and political divisions in Venezuela during its history as a Spanish colony. Then follows a philosophical discourse on revolution, a consideration of the fundamental bases of government, statistical tables on commerce, and a detailed history of the revolution in Venezuela up to 1819. Many footnotes give the work a formidable appearance. Irvine must have had access to a good library for he cites Solórzano, De Pons, López de Gómara, Acosta, Bernal Díaz, Rafael Antúnez de Acevedo, Garcilaso de la Vega, Herrera, Raynal, Ulloa, Humboldt, Bonnycastle, and Walton. Irvine even quotes a manuscript report on Venezuela drawn up in 1817 by Captain Sterling of the British Navy.

⁷How joyfully Bolívar received the news of Irvine's appointment may be seen in Vicente Lecuna, Ed., *Cartas del Libertador*, II. (Caracas, 1929-1930) 33-35, 41-42.

few references to citizens of the United States who actually conversed with the Liberator.⁸ Most citizens of the United States who served Venezuela during the revolution served in the navy⁹ and so far as is known, not one recorded his experiences with Bolívar.¹⁰ Though a goodly number of for-

⁸ J. F. Rippey, "Bolívar as viewed by contemporary diplomats of the United States", in this REVIEW, XV. 287-297. William Tudor met Bolívar August 24, 1826, and formed a very unfavorable impression (*Cartas del Libertador*, III. 1807). Other American diplomatic officials including James Cooley and Samuel Larned, were also hostile to Bolívar. See J. F. Rippey, *Rivalry of the United States and Great Britain over Latin America* (Baltimore, 1929), pp. 170-173. Beaufort T. Watts, U. S. chargé d'affaires at Bogotá, saw Bolívar infrequently, "mostly at gay and fashionable gatherings" and reported on October 7, 1827, that he dined with Bolívar "at a small and private party" (*U. S. State Dept. Archives. Despatches from Colombia*). Consul Robert K. Lowry reported meeting Bolívar on July 1, 1810. *Ibid.*, Consular Letters. La Guayra. Colonel Franklin Littlefield, U. S. Consul at Puerto Cabello, reported to Clay in a despatch dated April 19, 1827, concerning a conversation he had with Bolívar during which Bolívar informed Littlefield that he was awaiting despatches from Canning relative to the opinion of the British Cabinet concerning the constitution of Bolívar. Littlefield inferred that something important might be pending on its result. *Ibid.*, Consular Letters. Puerto Cabello. It is quite probable that William White knew Bolívar intimately. Some unpublished letters of Bolívar to White may be found among the Hiram Bingham collection of manuscripts in Yale University Library.

⁹ Alfred Hasbrouck, *Foreign Legionaries in the Liberation of Spanish South America* (New York, 1928), p. 347. See also Chapter II in Charles Lyon Chandler's *Inter American Acquaintances* (Sewanee, 1917), entitled "Citizens of the United States of America who took part in the Latin American War of Independence, 1810-1826" and A. C. Wilgus, "Some Activities of United States Citizens in the South American Wars of Independence, 1808-1824," in *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XIV. (April, 1931), 182-203.

¹⁰ Hiram Paulding was sent by Commodore Hull to carry despatches to Bolívar in 1824. Paulding describes the meeting in *Bolívar in his Camp* (New York, 1834). See also Rebecca Paulding Meade, *Life of Hiram Paulding* (New York, 1910); *Papers of Isaac Hull*, Gardner W. Allen, Ed. (Boston, 1929), p. 46. Americans who might have met Bolívar but who do not record the fact were Richard Bache, *Notes on Colombia, taken in the Years 1822-1823* (Philadelphia, 1827); William Duane, *A Visit to Colombia, in the Years 1822 and 1823* (Philadelphia, 1826); and Rensselaer van Rensselaer, whose letters appear in Mrs. Catherina V. R. Bonney's *A Legacy of Historical Gleanings* (2 vols., Albany, 1875). Commodore O. H. Perry, who was sent to Angostura in another attempt to obtain restitution for the *Tiger* and the *Liberty*, found on arriving at Angostura that Bolívar had gone off on the Boyacá campaign. After negotiating

eigners knew Bolívar and later wrote books minutely describing practically everything—from the Liberator's eating habits, his mistresses, the medicine used during his last illness, to his views on the constitution of the United States—yet not one such book written by a citizen of the United States can be found among the 1,424 items listed in the Pan-American Union's *Bibliography of the Liberator, Simón Bolívar*.¹¹ The relatively few contacts Bolívar had with citizens of the United States, even by correspondence, may be inferred from the fact that there are practically no important letters to or from citizens of the United States in Daniel F. O'Leary's *Correspondencia de extranjeros notables con el Libertador*.¹²

The following extracts from Irvine's official correspondence with J. Q. Adams constitute an interesting conglomeration of fact, fantasy, and prejudice mixed together by an ardent friend of liberty who was probably the only citizen of the United States to have protracted dealings with Bolívar.¹³

LEWIS HANKE.

Harvard University.

[Note: These letters are here published not as an act of injustice to a really great and extraordinary man (for the Liberator was both) but to show the estimate (however wrong it may be) formed of him by a citizen of the United States. Anything touching Bolívar is of interest to the student of Hispanic American history.—Ed.]

with subordinates, Perry fell a victim of yellow fever and died before he could reach the U. S. General William Henry Harrison, U. S. Minister at Bogotá in 1829, became seriously embroiled with Bolívar but by the correspondence method. See Dorothy B. Goebel, *William Henry Harrison. A political Biography* (Indianapolis, 1929), pp. 256-293. Of the authors cited in the article "Bolívar as described by his Contemporaries", *Bulletin of the Pan-American Union*, LXIV. (Washington, D. C., 1930) 1132-1139, the only American author is John Milton Niles who wrote about the Liberator but never saw him.

¹¹ Washington, D. C., 1933.

¹² Biblioteca Ayacucho edition, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1920). A letter from Irvine appears in II. 136.

¹³ After Irvine returned from Venezuela he engaged in various forms of journalistic hack work and took part in the expedition against Puerto Rico by Ducoudray Holstein which J. Q. Adams described as "a miserable attempt at an expedition against the island of Porto Rico, headed by a foreign officer

July 20, 1818²⁴

I lost little time in obtaining an introduction to General Bolivar, the supreme chief, and afterwards on the 14 inst. held a private conversation with him at his quarters. . . . In the course of the conversation . . . we made a long digression relative to the views and politics of Europe towards South America. General Bolivar appears perfectly aware of the objects of Great Britain. He believes that she makes it entirely a question of interest. I added a fact or two elucidatory of her double dealing, but acknowledged that she was quite justifiable in furthering the interests of her manufacturers, by extending their markets on all sides, pursuing her neutral rights to the utmost limits,—urging her ships into every sea and her commodities to every shore. . . .

In short, during a dialogue from 10 a.m. until ½ past 1 p.m. General Bolivar avowed principles so liberal on every subject broached that one must coincide with him pretty generally. He is an affable, fluent man who appears well informed, theoretically at least, in the most important branches of the policy of states. . . .

[But Irvine reports that Bolivar in a letter to a British merchant at Angostura] made acknowledgments of respect and reverence for those liberal British merchants, the *only generous* patrons who had yet stepped forward to the aid of Venezuela. . . .

Some say Bolivar is destitute of solid judgement, but he certainly has very good literary abilities, is quick in perception, brilliant and voluble in conversation, eloquent in writing, with the advantage of very agreeable conciliatory manners. . . .

General Bolivar gained much credit by the arrangements he made and the bravery he personally displayed at the battle of Seman. Ere that event, some few had proposed to confer the Chief command on

named Decoudray de Holstein, but on board of which were some misguided citizens of the United States", Manning, *op. cit.*, I. 163. Irvine explained that his aid to this "project, feasible and humane", was given in return for a promise of permission to use Ducoudray Holstein's manuscripts which Irvine believed would be useful in the work he planned to write on Colombia. Baptis Irvine, *Traits of Colonial Jurisprudence: or, A Peep at the trading Inquisition of Curacao* (Baltimore, 1824), p. iv.

²⁴ These letters are all to be found in the U. S. Dept. of State Archives, Special Agents Series, in a volume entitled "Cursorry Notes on Venezuela." All the letters were written by Baptis Irvine to J. Q. Adams unless otherwise noted.

Paez, a man of good natural talent and wonderful intrepidity, but without education and probably unfit to conduct a government. Some officers are now imprisoned on charges of intrigue in that affair—an attempt to which I believe Paez himself was adverse. There is no other individual, as impartial men assure me, who can so effectually unite all the people as General Bolivar.

August 11, 1818

The supreme chief and the most intelligent men with whom I have conversed, avow a preference for the United States, and intimate their determination to frame a govt. as similar to ours as dissimilar circumstances will justify.

August 27, 1818

[Irvine reports that Bolivar spoke with him] for half an hour with his usual frankness and friendship of the United States. In discussing the capture of Pensacola by Jackson, Bolivar observed that it was essential to our security and *we must possess* that district—that it was the *necessary complement to our territory*. . . .

Bolivar keenly seized on or made an opportunity of expressing his resentful feelings (on the subject of our prohibitory laws) which, like volcanic fires long suppressed, had rather increased their force and fierceness by burning inwardly. The similitude is rather extravagant, but nothing being on an ordinary scale here, I sometimes fall into the fashion!

He is reputed to be extremely jealous of anything like rivalry, in military life or civil, a quality, which, in these as in other matters indicates envy or inferiority or both. Be all this as it may, I only observe, that if the United States wish to foster freedom here, or have any influence over the turns of policy, then measures ought to be taken more liberal—ought to savor of friendship, for it is very hard, believe me, to make a jealous Spaniard or his descendant (equally jealous,) believe that an unfriendly act has a friendly intent.

September 14, 1818

The burning ambition of the Chief Bolivar, heretofore led him to proscribe every officer whose talents or success provoked his envious hate. He cannot have a rival and yet is sure to have many, though perhaps no peers. Although General Marino, by an act of his own

forecast, had marched from Cumana and snatched B—r from ruin at the critical moment when Real had forced the bridge of Barcelona, and was pressing hard on the fugitive, dispirited and beaten party under B—, although Marino on that occasion won a complete victory and saved the inhabitants from massacre, yet I am credibly informed that he would not have been spared, had he fallen into certain hands when Piar was arrested.

October 1, 1818²⁵

He was ready with pretexts, and even turned the accuser of the claimants, next reflecting on our government; and when facts were wanting, supplied *them from his own inexhaustible imagination*, which like Don Quixote's, created castles, flotillas, mischiefs, and blockades, and lines of circumvallation that never existed. . . .

Any change of government would be an improvement. I hope that some of the intelligent men may be able to restore government and law in this country which has been more scourged and endangered by a Don Quixote—with military ambitions but unmilitary talents—than by the cruelty of a relentless and savage enemy.

October 6, 1818 to Samuel D. Forsyth

[Irvine declares that Bolívar's manner reminded him of the lines]
That cannon shot the higher pitches
The lower we let down their breeches.

Bolívar's dictatorship must have an end. The wheels of his government are clogged already by imbecillity. . . . Though of debauched morals, this personage is undoubtedly liberal in many respects, if we may credit his professions. . . .

October 10, 1818

Bolívar has already undergone more changes than a butterfly, successively passing through the stages of compliment, complaint, petulance, puerility and reproach; sophistry, false assumptions and unfounded assertions constituting his chief or only weapons. . . .

From the nature of things you cannot but perceive that British influence reigns here as elsewhere. . . . I think it probable that the Supreme Chief had rather look for models there than in the United

²⁵ Bolívar had just definitively refused to accede to any of Irvine's demands concerning the *Tiger* and the *Liberty*.

States, or any other republic. He has talked otherwise at times, but his professions are like the passing wind or fleeting clouds.

October 15, 1818

Bolívar is really considered . . . a charlatan general and mountebank statesman. Roscio and Cadiz are the only men of eminence. Bolívar flatters himself . . . that his artifice and volubility of tongue will maintain his ascendancy. . . .

Reverting for the last time (I hope) to the correspondence, it is swelled by another *insolent note* from "Bolívar". His whole drift was to put his ingenuous declamation on paper, supposing that his fictions and false hope, and irrelative descant, would gain him applause and victory. For spoliation and misrepresentation he cares not, but the exposing them torments his vanity and mortifies his pride. It is not "controversial acrimony" that produces these remarks—it is justice.

October 29, 1818

Bolívar's proclamation¹⁶ is well calculated to answer the purpose of its author: under a pretense of humility and disinterestedness, he wishes to perpetuate his power by planting himself at the head of the new government. By formally proffering to restore the sovereign power to the people, he insinuates that his dictatorial policy was conferred upon him by the people; which is not the fact. A small faction in the city of Caracas *nominated* him, and subsequently a few persons in the island of Margarita named him commander in chief. As this occurred when he was in deep disgrace, which further developments confirmed more and more,—as the desertion of his companion by a silent and shameful flight from Ocumara etc. Piar, Marino, and Bermúdez, if I am rightly informed, refused at the time to acknowledge it.¹⁷ We have since seen that he took the first

¹⁶ The proclamation referred to here was the "Manifiesto a los Venezolanos" dated October 22, 1818, which ordered the convocation of the Second Venezuelan Congress for the following January at Angostura and announcing Bolívar's definitive renunciation of supreme power as soon as peace should be won.

¹⁷ When Bolívar came to Guiria from Bonaine; after his second—(for he has had more flights than Mahomet) he was almost hissed. He begged however for a hearing from Piar, Marino and Bermúdez: In this they indulged him; but to avoid contempt, he was obliged to reembark. Even Brion was so disgusted with his repeated failures and flights, that he peremptorily swore, he (Bolívar) *must return to the continent and fight it out*. He gave him the

opportunity of being avenged of the first. Many do not hesitate to assert that this was P's real offence, the other pretext being a false imputation.

You must not mind the flourishes of this man, if you would extract fact from his speeches; because dissimulation, hardness in assertion, and a spirit of intrigue, a determination to gain his ambitious ends by any means, are the leading traits of his character. He contrives everything *ad captandum vulgus*. It is no exaggeration to say, that he would disregard the perpetration of any crime (perhaps regard it as meritorious) if it favored his designs; provided concealment and impunity were certain. Most of his speeches are intended to gain him eclat abroad, the population here being so debased (with few exceptions) as to be scarcely worthy of the dexterous acts of deception. Therefore the "tenders" of B. in this proclamation are like Pollonius's view of Hamlet's profession: "mere springs to catch wood-cocks". By vaulting into the new saddle, he expects to ride over Paez, and others who rendered important service to their country and raised its declining heart whilst he was a fugitive in the islands. How things will eventuate I need not guess. Whatever be the form of government, this population are incapable of self government. In effect, all power and influence must remain in the hands of a very few.

Public pecuniary embarrassment, the apprehension of being rejected by Paez, etc. etc. the moment that public exigency ceases, and a *notion* he imbibed from one of my letters, (though I neither intended nor was authorized to convey it,) that the Government of the United States would never recognize his dictatorial power, are the causes of the present venture.

Seeing that Gen. B.'s renunciation of civil power was unequivocal and absolute, I enquired of Dr. Cadiz whether the intent corresponded to the words. He answered that the Supreme Chief still exercised all his wanted power. I felt humbled as a human being when I was driven to convict a "Supreme Chief" of mendacity. Such was the naked fact. . . .

Without an element of military instruction, he affects the lan-

Diana to carry him, but not a soul would accompany him except one Perez, then a poor lieutenant and his present aid-de-camp—It was in obeying Brion that he experienced the reception and rebuke at Guiria, already mentioned. (Irvine's footnote.)

guage of Napoleon; without a ray of true political knowledge, or a hint of morality, he apes the style and (it is said) claims the character of a Washington. However he possesses some education, and can surpass all his present competitors by his knack of composition and fluency of speech. A man's superiority is judged by a comparison with those around him—not by a foreign standard.

November 2, 1818

If Dr. Roscio and his fellow laborers (who are very few) *can* organize and administer a govt. among wretches more depraved than Algerines (such is the community in *Angostura*) they must perform little less than a miracle—all is insecure, all is vendible, and no man safe. . . . The reign of the Dictator has caused disorders that will require a long course of years and immense exertions to repair. He can boast of having ruined the credit and reputation of his country, and of making it enemies instead of friends. He can boast of destroying or never developing her resources, and of converting plantations into wilderness, especially in the Missions; and he can truly vaunt of the pestiferous examples he has set in many species of immorality. His speeches and proclamations are either directly untrue, or so worded as to convey many untruths and deceptions. . . . Hostile as one must be to this profligate man, we are not less friendly to his country.

February 16, 1819¹⁸

. . . The members were convened at the palace of the government, (at 11 o'clock a.m.) whither General Bolivar with his suite and principal officers repaired thither (sic) about the same time.—

¹⁸J. P. Hamilton and Irvine were the only foreigners invited to witness this event. Inasmuch as Hamilton represented the important British merchants of Angostura and Irvine was the "*Comisionado de los Estados Unidos*", they were given seats of honor according to Felipe Larrazábal, *Vida del Libertador Simón Bolívar*, Madrid, 1918 (Blanco-Fombona Edition), II. 166. Hamilton apparently was not moved to write anything concerning his impressions of the congress. Irvine rhapsodized concerning the congress in other places too. William White wrote Francisco A. Zea that "Mr. Irvine, en una lucida concurrencia, habló con entusiasmo de la instalación del Congreso, del discurso de Ud., de los grandes y heroicos sentimientos que todos y Ud. principalmente habian manifestado, asegurándoles, que ni en el Senado de los Estados Unidos habia visto tanto decoro y tanta dignidad como en la sesión del Congreso aquel día." *Memorias Del General O'Leary*. Simón B. O'Leary, ed., IX. (Caracas, 1880), 246.

As soon as the deputies were seated and the assembly composed, General B. addressed them from the chair in a set Discourse of great length.—He appeared to have studied it with no little pains.¹⁹—It is an essay on government, the scope of which is to prove that, while it is extremely desirable to establish the freest possible, a very free one is impracticable in Venezuela, whose circumstances he painted in colors by no means flattering and took the liberty, whilst pronouncing this part of the discourse, to submit his project of a constitution, laying it on the table before the president's chair.²⁰ He ran over the history of republics ancient and modern, to cite instances, it appeared to me, of the perishable nature of free governments; stating several facts, or truisms, as others had stated them.—The people of the United States, cradled in liberty, and enjoying peculiar advantages, he extolled to the skies—but took care to treat of them and their institutions as unusual, an *exception*, in short, from the general character of man, and of ordinary government.—He spoke of England's constitution nearly as De Lolme²¹ does, representing it as offering three finished models, of monarchy, (or an executive,) of aristocracy and *democracy*!—I suspect he is not aware, that the people REALLY ELECT only 171 out of 658 members of the house of commons. However, I refrain from criticizing the Discourse at this time.—He represented the wisdom and justice of rewarding public benefactors by public honor and trust; and hinted that the generals of Venezuela had well-founded claims to constitute the major part of the *permanent, hereditary senate* he proposed.

When he had concluded his speech, which he pronounced with great animation, he administered the oath of office to the members, and resigned the chair to Mr. Zea, the president of congress. The

¹⁹ José Gil Fortoul, Venezuela's foremost constitutional historian, asserts that Bolívar convoked the Angostura Congress in an attempt to impress the U. S. and Britain with the appearance of stability and constitutional rule. Gil Fortoul states that: "Era urgente convertir el gobierno de hecho en un aparato siquiera de régimen constitucional, para demostrarle al extranjero que ya la naciente República no se apoyaba solamente en el éxito de sus armas." *Historia Constitucional de Venezuela*, I. (Berlin, 1907), 268-269.

²⁰ A federal constitution he decided as utterly unsuitable being too complicated. (Irvine's footnote).

²¹ Jean Louis Delolme produced a careful, enthusiastic study of the English constitution, *Constitution de l'Angleterre* (Amsterdam, 1771). Irvine probably refers to the revised and enlarged English edition of 1772.

latter made a very sensible extemporaneous speech on the occasion, paying many compliments,—pronouncing indeed an eulogium on General Bolivar, more especially on his recent conduct.—This drew from that gentleman a declaration which excited no little wonder.—Having risen, as Dr. Zea made a finish, to return thanks in the name of the army or officers, he distinctly and unequivocally proclaimed his determination to retire into private life the moment the war should be terminated. He would not even accept any civil office. The rights and title of citizen from fellow-citizens was all he aspired to. When he retired, *Viva el General Bolivar!* resounded through the house, and his concluding declaration was the common talk.

Congress remained together some time after, and confirmed the military appointments of the *late* Supreme Chief. A motion was made to confirm all anterior acts in a lump, which a person present told me drew from Dr. Roscio, a warm and independent speech; exhorting that body against acting precipitately in any case, and cautioning them not even to pass over light affairs lightly; for, however they might think of themselves, their names and their conduct would form part of the history of Venezuela and be handed down to posterity.

Today, the Congress appointed General Bolivar, president of state and generalissimo of the army, with discretionary power in the latter quality. The former office is to continue until a constitution and laws shall have been formed, and a new government be ready to go into operation—though it is not so expressed. Dr. Zea will act as vice-president (or president of the congress) and in the absence of Bolivar, discharge the duties of president of state.

I received so much gratification from the events of yesterday, that, as we have had our imaginations filled with stories of Pegasus-es and pigeons, and griffins etc. conveying through the air, I wished on the occasion I had command over some thing, bird, or Ariel, which would by volitation, convey the news to Washington by next morning. I can not do it with a hundredth part of the celerity I wish. This Congress, I think, will do all that circumstances permit to promote the cause of liberty, but they have a thousand obstacles before them. In their hallowed, *legitimate* exertions, they deserve the support of free governments, as far as it can be rendered.—There is some dearth of talents among them but there are 5 or 6 of the 30 (only 27 present) possessed of solid abilities.

The late act of renunciation on the part of Bolivar, serves to veil

the vices and errors of his previous career. His failings and virtues, variously represented now, we shall leave to the historians of this revolution to depict. There are many persons here who do not hesitate to assign *necessity*, arising from incapacity and disappointment, as the sole cause of his resignation. To adopt this explanation of motives were to divert his previous conduct of all title to respect or admiration. It is more liberal, just and charitable to attribute good acts to good motives. . . . The account of services and abuses he must settle with his fellow citizens. Bolivar's ambition has been excessive. There cannot be a more remarkable instance than his reservation of the liberation of New Granada to himself, as we have seen, by his preventing supplies and excluding others. He resolved that the fame of the achievement should be his own. So, as has often been noticed, the famous *Vasco Nunez de Balboa*, in his expedition to discover the Pacific Ocean, at Darien, made his little army halt at the foot of the great mountain, from whose top as his guide assured him he should descry the *new ocean*, and resolved to climb the sierra alone, "*para no partir con otros el honor de tan importante descubrimiento*". Such is the vanity, or love of distinction that actuates mankind, though ambition is said to be the disease of noble minds.

. . . I am not inclined . . . I repeat, to derogate from the merits of General Bolivar on this occasion. He must be disinterested, *quo ad hoc*, since he avows his determination to accept no official honors or public spoils—and, admitting that he thought the measure necessary to save the country, and increase confidence at home and abroad, he would still deserve applause for adopting it. His political project, that of a perpetual senate particularly, is weak and vulnerable—an aristocracy of that kind being the worst of all administrations, incurable because unalterable. He recommended freedom of the press and religion, and all practicable encouragement to education. These being the best means of forming capable citizens, unite the approbation of all thinking men.

February 21, 1819

London papers received yesterday till the 28th of December contain part of a report on the affairs of Buenos Ayres by Mr. Graham one of the Commissioners. In the same gazette was a letter intimating that two of the commissioners were adverse to a recognition of the Independence of Buenos Ayres. General Bolivar expressed an im-

patient dislike of this recommendation, saying that this was the moment when the South-American needed protection and aid, and to withhold them on the pretext of parties, would only increase parties and intrigues. And what country is free from both? He thought such course would not be humane, wise, or friendly. I answered, that congress would decide from a full, not a partial view, and give no more importance to a commissioner's opinion than is deserved. There could be no doubt of the *friendship* of North-America to the independence and liberty of the South, although the variety of independent governments at the moment might embarrass our congress with respect to special acknowledgment. As to parties we claimed no right to interfere with them or any other internal concerns of a foreign state, nor had we, I added, a better right to turn censors over any foreign nation than it had to play the censor over us. He appeared very uneasy and dissatisfied notwithstanding my reply.

BOOK REVIEWS

Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira ilustrada com cerca de 15,000 gravuras e 400 estampas a côres. (Lisboa e Rio de Janeiro: Editorial Enciclopedia, Limitada. Distribuidores exclusivos para Portugal e Colonias: Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, Largo Trindade Coelho, 10-11, Lisboa, 1935-).

The need of a comprehensive and scholarly encyclopaedia of, and for, the Portuguese speaking world has long been recognized. Especially is this true in the domains of history, biography, geography, and literature. Again and again information of the type readily available in the United States or in most of the countries in western Europe can be secured in the case of Portugal and Brazil only after long and arduous research. Everywhere he turns the investigator in the field of Lusitanian civilization finds himself thwarted and discouraged by the lack of adequate tools. Such encyclopaedias as exist are either hopelessly out-of-date or represent purely commercial ventures.

This deplorable situation is about to be remedied, at least in part, by this new work of reference the first few hundred pages of which were published in Lisbon in 1935. It is appearing in the form of monthly "fascículos" of some eighty double-column pages. Fascicle XI (February, 1936), in which the last entry is "alfândega" runs through page 896 of what presumably will be Volume I of the encyclopaedia. The work should thus total at least a score of volumes. The year's subscription for countries outside of Portugal is 110 escudos.

The encyclopaedia is divided into two parts, each quite distinct from the other. Part I, which is now in course of publication, contains: (a) "Portugal até à actualidade", (b) Brasil até à independência", (c) "Enciclopédia geral", (d) "Dicionário da língua". It will be seen then that the first part of the work will deal with Portugal, colonial Brazil, and other topics ordinarily found in an encyclopaedia (excluding, however, Brazil since independence). It is also designed to be a dictionary of the Portuguese language.

An inspection of the fascicles already available make it clear that the topics included deal first and foremost with the Portuguese speaking world on both sides of the Atlantic. Only in a limited sense may the work be considered an "Encyclopédia geral." An example or two may be noted. The entry "Alemanha" (Germany) is confined to six pages. "Alexandre Magno" (Alexander the Great) is accorded barely a column. On the other hand, under "Alemão" may be found an illuminating discussion of the activities of Germans who have played a rôle in Portuguese history. To "Alentejo" (the Portuguese province) are devoted thirteen pages, with several illustrations, a full page map, and bibliography. But the American or English reader will surely be the last to cavil at this great preponderance of topics devoted to Portugal and its former colony and at the exclusion of subjects more adequately discussed in existing encyclopaedias published in other countries.

In so far as the reviewer is able to determine, the topics dealing with colonial Brazil are adequately treated. As regards the dictionary feature, apparently all of the words are listed which are found in the standard Portuguese manuals. On the other hand, the definitions are very summary and the etymologies are rarely given.

In the final analysis, the value of an encyclopaedia depends upon the authority of the contributors. For the first part of the work the list is published. It includes almost all of the outstanding Portuguese scholars of today, including the critic Fidelino de Figueiredo, the geographer Gago Coutinho, the historians Vitorino Nemésio and Jaime Cortesão, and a host of others. Unfortunately, the articles are not signed and very few contain bibliographies.

For the student of Hispanic American history the importance of this great compendium lies chiefly in the second part which is now in preparation. It is to consist of three sections: (a) "Brasil depois da Independência;" (b) "Enciclopédia Brasileira;" (c) "O Brasil em todos os seus aspectos." At the present juncture, we have no way of accurately estimating the scope and character of this, the Brazilian portion of the encyclopaedia. We are in ignorance as to the number of volumes to be devoted to Brazil and what is equally unfortunate we do not even have the names of the collaborators. But if the first part, confined largely to Portugal, is any criterion, this portion of the work will be a godsend to all students and investigators of things

Brazilian. Many of us will await its publication with anxious and eager interest.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

Stanford University.

Gastão de Orleans, o ultimo Conde d'Eu. By ALBERTO RANGEL. (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1935. Pp. 432.

The Comte d'Eu, the grandson of King Louis Philippe and the son-in-law of Dom Pedro II. of Brazil has always remained something of an enigma. Although he lived the greater part of his adult life in Brazil, the bulk of the Brazilians regarded him as a foreigner. He was repeatedly the object of unjust and even scurrilous attacks by the Brazilian press. If we are to believe the historian Calogeras, it was tacitly understood that on no account should he and the Princess Isabella, his wife, be permitted to succeed to the throne on the demise of the emperor. Of what manner of man was this Frenchman who was so inextricably involved in the affairs of a trans-Atlantic monarchy?

For the first time, this question has been satisfactorily answered. The noted Brazilian writer, Alberto Rangel, spent many months working through the voluminous family papers of the Orleans family at the Chateau d'Eu in France. The count was an indefatigable correspondent, particularly with his father the Duc de Nemours and his old teacher and friend Gauthier. As a result of Rangel's devoted efforts there has been recreated for posterity a very human but very impressive figure. At the same time, we are enabled to see, through the eyes of this intelligent and observing Frenchman, the life and institutions of the most fascinating epoch in Brazilian history.

Gaston d'Orleans was born on April 28, 1842, at Neuilly in the department of Seine Inferieure. After the February revolution, he lived with the members of the exiled dynasty in the castle of Claremont in England. In 1864, he and his brother went to Brazil where Gaston married Dom Pedro's oldest daughter, Isabella. At this point begins the most interesting part of Rangel's narrative. Shortly after the arrival of the Count in Brazil the Paraguayan War broke out. Quickly initiated into the life of his adopted country, Gaston d'Orleans, now prince imperial, noted day by day events in his journal or wrote long letters to his relatives and friends in France.

Rangel gives voluminous extracts from these interesting and revealing letters in the original French.

The count was exceedingly eager to take part in the war in any capacity. But the emperor, on the advice of his ministers and council of state, refused to let him go to the front and he had to content himself with a number of high-sounding but virtually useless offices in Rio. Nonetheless, he gained an insight into the working of the administrative and military machine. It was distinctly low-g geared and slow-moving. "Mais sous aucun rapport rien ne marche vite en ce pays," he writes to his father. The same procrastination he found in both houses of parliament. He had a particular grievance against the council of state, which repeatedly refused to recommend his appointment at the front. He writes in indignation that "ces onze barbons ne representent pas l'opinion de la nation brésilienne." A little later he thus characterizes the famous areopagus:

Hommes tous d'un certain âge et appartenant presque tous au parti conservateur, la préoccupation constante des Conseillers d'Etat est d'ecarter tout ce qui sort de la routine ordinaire.

The count notes further that the council decided that it was advisable to shelve indefinitely the discussion of such vital questions as the abolition of slavery, the opening of the Amazon, and the installation of a cable between Brazil and the United States. On the other hand, he would be the first to admit that over the span of years the council did render great services to Brazil.

The slowness with which the war was conducted exasperated the count. It was owing partly to penuriousness and partly to routine. We learn that in Tuyuty—on the Paraguayan front—churches and a theater were constructed "et les officiers s'y donnent des banquets". But finally in March, 1869, after Asunción had been captured and the great campaigns were finished, the count was made commander-in-chief of the Brazilian army with the ungrateful duty of tracking to earth the fugitive López in the wilds of Paraguay. Though the appointment was in the nature of an anticlimax, the count displayed both zeal and competency in bringing the war to a conclusion.

Of the utmost interest are the count's comments on the decadence of the monarchy in the eighties, and his version of the *coup d'état* of November 15. He accepted exile without complaint and for the next thirty years lived a life of dignified semi-retirement in France.

In 1920, the decree of banishment was lifted and the year following the count returned to Brazil. Here he was received with every honor as befitted the son-in-law of Dom Pedro II. and an ex-Marshall of the Brazilian army. Death overtook him in 1922 when he was once more en route to his adopted country to attend the festivities of the centenary of independence.

Alberto Rangel has written one of the few really notable biographies thus far published in Brazil. His book sheds a flood of new light on some of the more obscure and controversial phases of the history of the empire. But, above all, it does full, albeit tardy, justice to one of the most exemplary figures which ever appeared on the stage of Brazilian history. We find in this scion of the Orleanist monarchy a competent, dignified, somewhat formal, hard-working, conscientious prince, scrupulously loyal and whole-heartedly devoted to the country of his adoption. The Duc d'Orléans once said of his brother: "Mon frère c'est le devoir personnifié." No more true or fitting tribute could be applied to Gaston d'Orléans, Comte d'Eu and Prince Imperial of Brazil.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

Stanford University.

O Negro Brasileiro. Ethnographia, Religiosa e Psychanalyse. By ARTHUR RAMOS, [Vol. I "Bibliotheca de Divulgação Científica."] (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, S. A., 1934. Pp. 303.)

O Folk-Lore Negro do Brasil. By ARTHUR RAMOS, [Vol. IV "Bibliotheca de Divulgação Científica."] (Rio de Janeiro Civilização Brasileira, S. A., 1935. Pp. 276.)

Dr. Fernando Ortiz observed on one occasion in a review published in THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW that

there still remains much to do in order to determine scientifically the contribution of the Negro to American civilization, both in economics and in psychology, both in the social and political life, and both in religion and art.

No more accurate observation has been made in view of the number of American nations in which the African influence has been of primary importance in the formation of the national consciousness. Nevertheless, relatively little has been done in the way of contribution toward the study of the Negro influence. The concept that the Negro, transplanted to America was totally submerged and lost in the

mass of population and contributed only his blood to the new race, is, of course, completely incorrect and inadequate as a basis of scientific investigation of the Afro-American civilizations. Now and then one comes upon studies which seek to estimate the extent and nature of this African influence. In Haiti, the only Negro state in the new world, investigators of the type of Dr. Price Mars, J. B. Dorsainvil, and others have made a number of brilliant contributions to this problem. In Cuba, Dr. Fernando Ortiz is almost unique in the scope and seriousness of his researches.

The two books under review reveal something of what is being done in Brazil in this line. Dr. Arthur Ramos is a member of the *Instituto de Pesquisas Educacionais* of Rio de Janeiro, and has been active in investigation in the fields of psychoanalysis, psychiatry, and mental hygiene. With a medical background and an excellent knowledge of folklore, Dr. Ramos has initiated the series of publications known as the "Bibliotheca de Divulgação Científica", the purpose of which is to issue volumes of scholarly worth on diverse aspects of Brazilian life. These two volumes are of extraordinary interest for the student of history. As Dr. Ramos observes in the preface of his volume on African folklore in Brazil:

the development of interest in studies on the Brazilian Negro which is becoming more manifest, reveals a state of mind demanding a protest and a revindication: a protest against the almost total ignorance of a problem of such notorious interest.

This problem obviously cannot be limited strictly to the historical aspect. After all, the essence of the formation of the national mind and the race itself rests on a consideration of the spiritual attributes of the Negro and the process through which he has passed in fusing with the European stock responsible for the conquest of Brazil. The phases of the problem are multiple; the historical, geographical, and religious. All must be balanced and weighed to reach a rational comprehension of the rôle of the Negro in Brazil. The author conceives of his task in the following light, as expressed in his *O Negro Brasileiro*:

The American Negro! How does he react to his new habitat? What influences were brought to bear on his mind in contact with other races and other environments? On the other hand, what influence did he exert on the new world peoples with whom he was merged? What is his position in Brazil in comparison with that of the colored race in other countries of the American continent?

These are interesting and pertinent questions, which reach down to the most fundamental in relation to the racial configuration of America. Dr. Ramos has a most illuminating introduction to his *O Negro Brasileiro*. It displays what is often so woefully lacking, a grasp of the position of the Negro throughout the new world rather than in a single area or region. So much is lost by this regional segregation, with no contrast and comparison of the Negro as he is found in numerous parts of the hemisphere. This Brazilian author possesses a remarkable knowledge of Negro life outside his own land. Verses from Langston Hughes and references to Du Bois, Calverton, Walter White, and other Negro intellectuals inspire confidence in the author's judgments, since his acquaintance with the Negro is far from limited to the leading centers of Brazilian African life—Bahia, Pernambuco, or Maranhão.

How many Negroes are there in Brazil? Here the census is of little utility. Estimates place the number at some five to six millions out of the total population of perhaps forty millions. Roquette Pinto places the proportion of Negroes to the whole population of Brazil at fourteen per cent, while another observer, taking the Brazilian army as the basis of the study, concluded that the Negro element was some ten per cent of the total. This is to be understood, of course, as referring to those of relatively pure blood, since the Mulatto is classified separately.

Dr. Ramos suggests that, even with this statistical knowledge, the question is barely suggested. Little or nothing has been done with regard to a determination of the exact countries of origin of the slaves imported into Brazil, which implies, quite naturally, data regarding their customs, religion, and culture in general. Nor has investigation made plain as yet the numerical relation between the imported Negroes from Africa and those born in the colony. The same question arises in connection with the study of the ethnic formation of the Haitian people. It would undoubtedly be highly instructive to obtain data of an undoubted authenticity and value regarding the points of comparison of the slaves taken to Saint Domingue and those transported to Brazil. Dr. Ramos points out that the difficulties of such research are almost insuperable in view of the lack of documents and the fact that the Negro was conceived in Brazil as an element of importance only when abolition was a national issue. Then, too, there is the fact that many approaches have been made to

this problem from a highly preconceived notion of racial inferiority, which warped and stultified any serious analysis of the problem. Dr. Ramos undoubtedly deserves the highest praise for eliminating much of this rubbish and setting the pace for a thorough and conscientious investigation of the Negro; in the same dispassionate manner that historians and archaeologists have reconstructed the vital elements of the indigenous cultures of America. The Negro deserves the same careful scholarship and the same exact and painstaking research as the Indian races of America. Dr. Arthur Ramos follows in the path of the famous Bahian student of things African, Nina Rodriguez. Almost simultaneously with the two books mentioned at the head of this review, Dr. Jacques Raimundo of the Colegio Dom Pedro II of Rio published his *O Elemento Afro-Negro na lingua portuguesa* (Rio de Janeiro, 1933).

In the first work cited, Dr. Ramos devoted three chapters to the general problem of the Negro race in Brazil: origins, numbers, place of settlement and present status. Much confusion is avoided by the clear distinction of tribal origins, with reflexions on the significance of these variations in the development of Negro mentality in Brazil. The work, properly speaking, commences with a study of the religious sentiment among the present-day Negroes of Brazil. It is much the same sort of thing applied to Brazil which was carried out by Dr. Fernando Ortiz in his *Los Negros Brujos*. The problems discussed are extraordinarily fascinating. There is the Bantu and Sudanese influences; the manifestations of Islamic impact on the West African races and the question in general of the intermingling of Moslem and animistic beliefs. Bantu traditions and cults derived from it are examined in detail with reference to the sections of Brazil in which typical practices survive. Magic and fetichism are scrutinized with regard to such manifestations as the trance and possessions. The music and dance which form such an important part of ritual bring us to the last section which is a psychoanalytical examination of the problem.

Dr. Ramos is rigidly scientific, and the volume is abundantly footnoted. The second volume on Negro folklore deals more in detail with musical folklore and the nature of popular tales and legends among the Brazilian Negroes. Here, again, the author suggests a number of points of contact with Africa and the variations visible owing to difference of tribal origin. The interrelationship of Cathol-

icism, molded and adapted to the Negro mind, and of the stories and folktales which have grown up among the Negro population completes the general study and serves to amplify the companion volume which preceded it.

The historian of Hispanic America will discover a vast amount of information indispensable to the study of the historical evolution of Brazil in these volumes. Dr. Ramos is performing a service of inestimable value in revealing the hidden spiritual riches of one of the most vital racial elements in Hispanic America.

RICHARD PATTEE.

University of Puerto Rico.

His Majesty the President of Brazil. By ERNEST HAMBLOCH. (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1935. Pp. 252.)

Here is a forthright volume on Brazilian politics in particular and Latin American "presidentialism" in general. Ernest Hambloch, formerly British commercial attaché in Rio de Janeiro, knows Brazil and the devious ways of the country's politicians. He gives a vivid picture of the republican régime and the shortcomings of the *políticos*.

No one will deny that presidents under the republic have abused the "state of siege" by stifling their political opponents, that through control of the legislature they have manipulated elections so as to insure the success of the government candidate; also that the country's governors have followed an inept financial policy by a succession of borrowings to liquidate past debts.

But to ascribe the political and economic ills of the country mainly to the republic form of government and to the peculiarities of the Brazilian constitution, as the author avowedly does, greatly impairs the value of what would otherwise be a most revealing treatise upon Brazilian life and institutions.

The author pictures Dom Pedro the Second's empire as a halcyon era, during which Brazil was ruled by a Marcus Aurelius, surrounded by statesmen whose only thought was the public weal. Not only is the accuracy of this picture open to question, but the author seems to forget that the same poor basis for workable democratic government was present during the empire that exists under the republic, namely: great illiteracy, the absence of a substantial middle class that would create an alert and vigilant public opinion, and an adequate

system of communications—to say nothing of the economic sin of monoculture.

Mr. Hambloch undoubtedly gives English readers much valuable information, and the work will take its place as a valuable contribution to the study of Hispanic American politics along with that of Professor Hermann G. James, but it is to be regretted that he ignores the deeper social and intellectual currents of Brazilian life which are awake today as never before. Surely he must be aware of the new social consciousness in Brazil, the awakening of proletarian thought which was reflected in the constituent assembly of 1934, and the present serious interest in social welfare and educational reforms.

Moreover, he might have given the Vargas government credit for an attempt to provide fair elections, and the constituent assembly credit for its effort to limit the power of the president; even though it is no doubt true that if the election of the chief magistrate had been left to popular vote the choice might have been another than Vargas. The military power by which he overthrew the Washington Luís government exerted a strong influence in the assembly and this insured his election.

FREDERIC WILLIAM GANZERT.

University of Utah.

Who's Who in Latin America. By PERCY ALVIN MARTIN, Ph.D., assisted by MANOEL DA SILVEIRA SOARES CARDOZA, M.A. (Stanford University: Stanford University Press, California, 1935. Pp. xxiv, 438. \$6.50.)

La importancia de esta guía, que ya era de urgente necesidad para todos los que deseaban el conocimiento de quienes en cada país de la América Latina representan actividades de primer orden, está en el hecho de que fue construída con materiales de primera mano, centralizando la atención en los datos biográficos y bibliográficos más esenciales y distribuyendo esos materiales con la maestría de conocimiento que sólo puede tener quien, como el Dr. Martin, es cate-drático de historia en la Stanford University. Gracias a una correspondencia cuidadosamente organizada y a una selección minuciosa de todos los nombres que debían figurar en este libro, pudo su compilador, contando con la valiosa ayuda de otro universitario, el señor Silveira Soares Cardoza, acometer una tarea que, los que estamos al

tanto de las dificultades con que se tropieza para reunir datos a través del servicio epistolar, calificamos de primera calidad.

En esta guía pueden encontrarse noticias concretas sobre todos los que en la actualidad sobresalen en la América Latina, no sólo por su vida intelectual, sino también los hombres de negocios y los representantes de la política. Escritores, artistas, periodistas, diplomáticos, hombres de estudio y de acción, forman la trama de esta obra que tiene utilidad magnífica, por su plan bien logrado.

En algunos países había diccionarios biográficos que prestaban buen servicio local y que eran de activa consulta tratándose de quienes cultivan el intercambio de publicaciones. Puede citarse, entre otros, *Uruguayos contemporáneos*, por Arturo Scarone, conservador de la Biblioteca Nacional, de Montevideo (1918). El *Índice de escritores*, del cual soy autor y que se publicó en la ciudad de México (1928) tenía el propósito de dar a conocer a muchas personalidades de la América Española; pero no fué posible hacer más de una edición.

El Dr. Martin mientras recogía datos que se le iban suministrando y después de haber verificado la calidad de todos aquellos a quienes se dirigió en demanda de tales datos, tuvo que hacer una tarea más pesada todavía: la de darles coordinación y simplificarlos, para que realmente sólo apareciese en el libro lo que es digno de saberse; es decir, la carrera universitaria, las distinciones recibidas, la producción impresa, y al final, algo que es muy apetecido, la dirección particular de cada biografiado. Hay que considerar lo que esa labor se ha llevado de tiempo y de paciencia, afinando, compulsando, cotejando, hasta presentar los esquemas que permiten formarse la idea más aproximada de cada personalidad. En ésto y en el sentido de americanidad de la obra, reside el mérito de ella, y nadie, ni los más exigentes, podrá desconocerlo. Vendrán en seguida las nuevas informaciones, las enmiendas, pero es única la lección que el distinguido catedrático de la Stanford nos da a los que queremos saber más de la realidad de la América Latina, y sólo congratulaciones merece. Puede afirmarse que el Dr. Martin viene a ser uno de los que en inglés descubren una riqueza latinoamericana que es más preciosa que la plata, el petróleo y los bananos, y por eso le debemos la más cordial gratitud.

Como era natural, mientras preparaba su obra murieron algunos de los que aparecen en el libro, y me parece que sería conveniente—ya que esta guía viene a prestar servicio a los que leen inglés, y por

lo mismo no sólo a los Estados Unidos sino también al resto de América—que en la nueva edición apareciesen aquellos que, sin ser latino-americanos, han hecho gran parte de su obra en la América Latina y tienen valor propio dentro de la historia de las ideas en ésta: por ejemplo, los alemanes Uhle y Lehmann, el inglés Joyce, los norteamericanos Morley, Frank, Beals, Chase, entre muchos.

Who's Who in Latin America es un admirable instrumento de trabajo, a la vez que un estímulo brindado con sagacidad por la diplomacia universitaria que es la que puede crear mejores vínculos entre los pueblos.

RAFAEL HELIODORO VALLE.

Universidad de México.

El Presidente Polk y Cuba. By EMETERIO S. SANTOVENIA. [Publications of the Academia de la Historia de Cuba.] (La Habana: Imprenta "El Siglo XX", 1935. Pp. 116. Illus. Paper, \$1.00.)

This volume raises again the question as to whether it is possible to consider a fundamental historical subject and produce an original work after a very elemental research. Sr. Santovenia, as many others before him, has not succeeded in doing this. A short visit to the archives of the state department, the use of *The Diary of James Knox Polk*, edited by M. M. Quaife, of my own book relating to the expeditions of Narciso López, and of a few other printed materials, have given Sr. Santovenia the chance to add another title to his extensive bibliography.

There cannot be any objection to this booklet from a literary point of view. It is written with the flourished style of Sr. Santovenia, whose reading I always enjoy, but as to history, it does not add anything new—the mistakes excepted. As to the latter, it is the duty of the present reviewer to point out to Sr. Santovenia that it was not during the time of President Monroe that for the first time the government of Washington discussed Cuban annexation, as he asserts on page 10; that long before May, 1848, John L. O'Sullivan had assurances of the annexationist ideas of President Polk; that the appreciation that he makes of the motives determining Mr. Buchanan's attitude against the purchase of Cuba, if the latter was made by President Polk, are all wrong, as has been proved by several authors; that the order to General Butler directing him not to allow American troops to go to Cuba, was issued because a revolution in Cuba would

impede the purchase of the island; that the denunciation of López's conspiracy in Trinidad had its origin in the United States; and that R. M. Saunders, the American Minister to Madrid, before talking with the Marquis of Pidal about the transfer of Cuba, had in some way been encouraged to do it by General Narváez himself.

There are other minor points which are also wrong, but there is especially, a chapter entitled "An Emissary of Isabella the Second" (pp. 68-72), which is in error from the title to the last word. The emissary of the queen of Spain who was in contact with Vice-President Dallas to discuss the transfer of Cuba did not represent Isabel, but María Cristina, the queen mother, who, at that time, as before and after, desired to sell Cuba to the United States in order to have her investments in slaves and in all types of business in the island protected by the United States against British abolitionism.

As an address, the work of the distinguished Cuban historian on Polk and the attempted purchase of Cuba, sounds excellent, but with respect to historical accuracy, it is far below the mark, especially since the United States bibliography on the subject has left very few important questions untouched, and since Jerónimo Becker, in the second volume of his *Historia de las relaciones exteriores de España durante el siglo XIX* has published much of what took place between R. M. Saunders, representing the United States, and General Narváez and the Marquis of Pidal, representing Spain.

HERMINIO PORTELL VILÁ.

Black Mountain College, N. C.

La Iglesia Ecuatoriana en el Siglo XIX. Tomo I. De 1809 a 1845.

By JULIO TOBAR DONOSO. (Quito: Editorial Ecuatoriana, 1934. Pp. xx, 633.)

It is gratifying to find an increasing attention directed to the Church in Hispanic America by both native and foreign students. In the opinion of the reviewer this institution merits a larger share of the investigation and study of historians than it has received thus far. This volume constitutes a valuable addition to the recent studies of the Church. Doctor Tobar Donoso plans to continue this history of the Church in Ecuador to the present, the entire work to comprise three volumes. One might wish that the author had included a study of the colonial Church in his project; on that period only a brief

statement of conditions in the Church at the beginning of the War for Independence is given.

Doctor Tobar Donoso devotes his study principally to the relations between the Church and the State; the constitutional, legal, and political history of the institution is related with considerable detail. More consideration of the economic, social, intellectual, and cultural activities of the Church would have enriched the work; however, these aspects of its history are not entirely omitted. The work of the Church in education, in the care of the sick, especially during the yellow fever epidemics, and its efforts to restore the missions for the conversion and instruction of the Indians are discussed. Special attention is directed to the work of Bishop Arteta for education, public health, and the elevation of customs and morals, which were in sad need of correction following the War for Independence. The unhappy conditions in the Church—poverty, lack of discipline, an inadequate and untrained clergy—are held responsible for the slow progress made by the institution in elevating Ecuadorian society.

The author adds to our knowledge of the Church in Bolívar's Gran Colombia by giving detailed information as to conditions in the Church and the operation of ecclesiastical policies of the Department of Ecuador. The main contribution of this work is found, however, in Part II, which is devoted to the ecclesiastical policies and action of Flores and Rocafuerte. The author admits that the attitude of these presidents toward the Church appeared to be in the large friendly, or at least tolerant. Flores was related through his wife to the Bishop of Quito, Arteta, and he was influenced in his government by Dr. José Félix Valdivieso, who became increasingly friendly to the Church. Flores's "administration was consequently essentially Christian with that individualist sentimentalism characteristic of the time" (p. 294). His policy is described elsewhere as one of "condescension"; Rocafuerte's as one of "lights and shadows". The latter insisted on better discipline of the clergy and coöperated with the Church in trying to improve the education of priests; on the other hand he favored religious toleration, the immigration of Protestants, and the secularization of education. Both presidents are criticized for adhering to a policy of "regalism", characteristic of the Bourbon régime, which kept the Church subservient to the State and prevented the development of institutional integrity. The clergy accepted or submitted to the subjection. But when Flores introduced in the Con-

stitution of 1843 a provision for freedom of private worship, the clergy refused to take the oath to support the constitution and joined the revolt against him in 1845. Volume I ends at this point.

This volume has a good bibliography of printed sources. In his preface the author states that he has made use of most of the manuscript material available in his country.

MARY WATTERS.

Arkansas State College,
Jonesboro, Arkansas.

The Church in the South American Republics. By EDWIN RYAN.
(Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company. 1932. Pp. viii, 119.)

A remarkable amount of information is contained in this small volume, which constitutes a part of the notable Science and Culture Series edited by Dr. Joseph Husslein, S. J. This volume maintains the high level of scholarship of the earlier volumes of the series. It should prove a very useful addition to Hispanic-American historical literature. It makes no claim to original ideas or the presentation of new facts; it is, however, a judicious selection of the essential features in the historical background and the present status of the Church in South America, clearly, simply, and beautifully presented. It will be especially useful to the general reader with no previous knowledge of the Church in these countries. It should also be welcome to the teacher and to the student in introductory courses in Hispanic-American history because of its "concise orientation of a vast and possibly bewildering subject".

Dr. Ryan devotes about half of his book to the study of the Church in the colonial period. This is the more delightful part of the book. He includes an analysis of the Spanish background as it affected the Church in America, a sympathetic study of the pagan religion of Peru, and chapters on the organization and functioning of the Church, the mission system, the Church and intellectual life, and the clergy in the wars for independence. A longer chapter treats of the Church in the Spanish-American republics, in which the social and intellectual position of the institution as well as its constitutional and legal status is described. There are two chapters on the Church in Portuguese America, one on the colonial period, and one on the national.

The reviewer notes a few errors in the text. The Concordat of 1862 between the Papacy and the Venezuelan government was never ratified by the Venezuelan Congress (pp. 76-77). The Church in Venezuela is still a state church in constitutional and legal position (p. 78). The "Regenerator's" name should be written Guzmán Blanco, not Blanco (pp. 77-78).

There is a useful appendix, containing the provisions of present constitutions of the South American republics with respect to the Church; also a list of the sees with the dates of their establishment. The brief bibliography contains some of the chief published materials on the Church. The attractiveness of the book is enhanced by twelve full-page illustrations.

MARY WATERS.

Arkansas State College.

Don Pedro Andrés García, Coronel del Ejército Argentino (1758-1833). By JOSE TORRE REVELLO. (Sevilla: Imprenta de Manuel Carmona, 1935. Pp. 117. 5 illus.)

The recent placing of a commemorative plaque in the little town of Caranceja, Santander Province, Spain, birthplace of one of the many sons of the *Montaña* who distinguished themselves in the building up of Argentina, furnishes the inspiration of the biographical essay under review. At the age of eighteen Don Pedro Andrés García joined a military expedition under Pedro de Cevallos which was sent to the provinces of Río de la Plata in the year that the English colonies of North America were declaring their independence. It was not, however, until about 1806 that this *santanderino* began to come into prominence as an officer of the militia organized to resist the English invasion. In an engagement with the British forces under General Crawford he defeated his opponent in such a brilliant fashion that he won a promotion as major and a liberal award of lands on the Indian frontier from Viceroy Liniers. When, a little later, Argentina chose to break away from Spain, García threw in his lot with his adopted country and received a colonelcy in the patriot army. It is possible that he was averse to drawing his sword against the mother country within whose limits he was born and had spent his childhood and that he preferred to serve the young republic in other ways. At any rate, he was commissioned by the Executive Committee of Buenos Aires to make a tour of inspection of the west-

ern frontier of the provinces and to establish friendly relations with the warlike Indians of that region. He was singularly successful in his negotiations with the *caciques* of the barbarous tribes and his remaining and most fruitful years were spent on numerous exploratory and scientific expeditions into the interior or "wild west" of Argentina. These excursions and the carefully written reports that he made greatly extended geographical knowledge of these outlying districts, and his recommendations for the pacification and development of the frontier, if acted upon, would undoubtedly have advanced the progress of Argentina by many decades. This chapter of his career deserves a fuller study than yet available.

In accordance with his usual custom, Sr. Torre Revello enhances the value of this somewhat laudatory biography with an appendix of documents. This is divided into two sections: the first and more important contains seven hitherto unpublished letters and reports by and concerning Don Pedro Andrés García which the author has unearthed in the General Archives of the Indies at Seville, Spain. The second is a group of letters and speeches read or given at the time of the placing of the plaque at García's birthplace in 1934 in the presence of his great grandson, his Excellency, D. Daniel Garcia Mansilla, the Argentine Ambassador to Spain.

Though its character as a centennial publication tends to make this biographical essay something of a eulogy of its subject, the full notes and valuable appendix give this short work a permanent value and make it a worthy addition to the growing literature of early Argentine history.

IRVING A. LEONARD.

University of California,
Berkeley.

The Foreign Debt of the Argentine Republic. By HAROLD EDWIN PETERS, Ph.D. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1934. Pp. ix, 186. \$2.00.)

In this work Doctor Peters emphasizes the last three decades, but he does not neglect the earlier period of the history of Argentine finance, which he discusses in the first and second chapters. His story closes with the year 1933.

Although the monograph may be too technical for the average historian, he will doubtless be able to extract from it considerable

useful information with reference not only to the Argentine debt but also with respect to various related matters, such as foreign commerce, banking, taxation, and so forth. It will, therefore, be welcomed as a contribution to the economic history of Argentina—a subject regarding which our information still remains quite inadequate. Notwithstanding the fact that few works of a general historical nature are listed, the reader will find Dr. Peters's bibliography very helpful. The reviewer observes only one defect in the monograph, namely, its failure to give a sufficient historical setting for the financial matters which are so clearly and ably set forth.

J. FRED RIPPY.

Duke University.

España y la Educación popular en América. By CONSTANTINO BAYLE, S. J. (Madrid: Editorial F. A. E. 1934. Pp. 392.)

The name of Father Constantino Bayle of the Society of Jesus is by no means unknown to students of Hispanic American history, for his list of publications has now passed the dozen mark. His latest contribution in this field of history is *España y la Educación popular en América*, a volume of about four hundred pages devoted to an exposition of the work in the field of education and popular instruction carried out by Spain in its American dominions. This work is a fuller development of a single chapter devoted to the topic in his *España en Indias*. In spite of the apparently specialized nature of the subject treated, the book is, in reality, a brief, but stimulating examination of the cultural work of Spain in the western hemisphere.

Father Bayle is, beyond doubt, an excellent polemist. We use the expression polemist with no implication of violent partisanship or of *parti pris*. His position is in a sense a refutation of the detractors of the work of Spain. He is, to be sure, a *Defensor Fidei*, and to a certain extent is animated by the desire to plead a cause. He is, on the other hand, an exceptionally gifted investigator as his copious bibliography and abundant citations demonstrate. His technique is impeccable and his methodology such as to suit the most exacting requirements of scholarship. The striking quality of this work, and of the others from the pen of this Spanish Jesuit, is the sparkling brilliancy of his style. His method of expression is pungent, witty, and logical and his use of language extraordinarily

variegated and fresh. Not a touch of pedantry is to be found in these pages.

Father Bayle proposes, first of all, to examine two essential questions: the motive or purpose which the Spanish crown had in mind in contemplating the transfer of its cultural heritage to the new world and second, the instrument to be employed for the realization of that purpose. The chapters that follow deal with the manifestations of this effort in the various regions of America—New Spain, Central America, Ecuador and Peru, the provinces of the Río de la Plata and Chile. While not all exhaustive, the whole panorama of colonial Hispanic America is included. There are, in addition, chapters on the efforts made to inculcate the Spanish language and finally a resumé of the whole controversy concerning the work of Spain in America.

The author insists that the criticism directed against Spain that it was guilty of an incredible negligence in America, must embrace the Church, since the accusation against the crown of necessity includes the Church. This is particularly true when the reference is to the system of education or the diffusion of culture. Father Bayle writes, "in attacking Spain, the stones bounce back against the Church and its representatives, the bishops, clergy, and members of the religious orders". This whole controversy which had led to the almost universal condemnation of Spanish achievement is explained by this author as being in part the envy and rivalry of nations engaged in competition with Spain, and in large measure a reaction of the newly formed republics of America to throw off not merely the political yoke but the whole background of tradition that bound them to the mother country. Hence the violence with which the defects of Spanish rule were attacked. Iniquity and obscurantism became synonymous with Spanish endeavor in America. Father Bayle undertakes to clarify these false judgments and erect an adequate defense of the civil and religious authority in its effort to redeem the inhabitants of the new world from savagery. He employs for this task the citation of *cédulas* and decrees bearing on the problem of instruction, and the manifest eagerness of the religious to spread, within the limits of their means and energies, some degree of knowledge and the rudiments of culture. Father Bayle warns the reader against the facility of judging the past by the standards of the present—an historical commonplace to be sure, but often overlooked when matters

taken so much for granted are in controversy. Outstanding among these concepts is that illiteracy constitutes the root of social evil and that its eradication is the primary goal of civilized society. Spain did not attempt, asserts Father Bayle, to educate the masses, at least not as we understand the expression today; nor did England, Holland, France, or any other colonizing power. The Church was not charged with the mission of education as such, as a matter of fact, for its mission has never been primordially that of education. Education in this case is to be understood, of course, as profane learning. The Church at the time of the conquest and colonization attempted to fulfil its fundamental mission—that is, to bring to the knowledge of the natives of America a notion of its doctrines and their purposes. Only incidentally and as an indispensable aid to the civil authority was a broader education undertaken. The whole matter around which there has been so much controversy and diatribe is summarized by Father Bayle as follows:

Suppose we forget excessive sentiment and speak clearly: the struggle against illiteracy is considered today as an essential basis of the cultural development of a nation, perhaps correctly or perhaps vociferously, for there are other sources of welfare, of education, and of progress, more normal, purer, and disinterested; but after all let the pedagogues of the civilized countries decide that. But in America at that time, before an invincible reality, of what use was reading and writing to the great mass of both semi-civilized and savage Indians who, scarcely out of the moral jungle, were to live and die in the physical, with no aspirations or knowledge beyond the hills and rivers that met their gaze for their hunting and fishing?

The idea is quite simple, that after all, the motive behind Spanish colonization was not to make cultivated citizens out of the indigenous population nor is it just to expect that modern concepts of universal free education and equal opportunities for instruction should be held up as standards for an age when the crudities of life imposed themselves to the exclusion of such an ideal.

Space does not permit a detailed listing of the arguments and evidence adduced by the writer to sustain his point of view. He lists the work of the universities, the publications, and the remarkable number of distinguished graduates of the great cultural centers of the colonies. The same line of thought is applied to the matter of teaching Spanish instead of the adoption by the hardy missionaries of the Indian tongues for the evangelizing labor. Again, the explanation was obvious. For one Spaniard to acquire Guaraní or Quechua

was vastly easier than for ten thousand Guaraníes to learn Spanish. The numerical consideration undoubtedly outweighed all others.

The conclusions reached by this learned Jesuit are favorable to the work of Spain and to the great religious institution under whose auspices so much of Hispanic American history has developed. The book is a polemical work, a work of rectification and revisionism. It is a good book and deserves to be widely known.

RICHARD PATTEE.

University of Puerto Rico.

Story of the Spanish Missions of the Middle Southwest. By FRANK C. LOCKWOOD. (Santa Ana, California: The Fine Arts Press, 1934. Pp. 74. \$4.00.)

The purpose of this admirable little volume is to guide the traveler to every spot on which a mission church was founded by Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino in his labors among the Pima Indians from 1687 until his death in 1711. The exact location of each mission site is carefully pointed out, the story of the founding is related, and the known history of each mission is very briefly traced up to the present time. It is intended that this book be read in conjunction with another by the same author, *With Padre Kino on the Trail*, and that is truly advisable, for otherwise it is difficult to follow the story of Father Kino himself through the histories of these individual missions.

The work is obviously a labor of love with the author, who has devoted himself to this study for ten years. Professor Lockwood credits his interest in this field to Dr. Herbert E. Bolton, dean of historians of our Spanish Southwest, and we may say that this is another of the instances in which the pupil is so apt as to approach the master in brilliancy of achievement.

It is likewise clear that the author possesses a very great and open admiration for Father Kino, both as a missionary and as a man, calling him "the most eminent figure in Southwestern history" and "our most eminent and beloved Southwestern pioneer". This deep respect on the part of the author for the great missionary results in a most sympathetic treatment of the subject matter, which treatment, together with careful library and travel research, creates a scholarly work that is most interesting and delightful to read. It is, indeed, thrilling to follow the appreciative account of the industry and zeal,

of the struggles and remarkable success of this Jesuit father in his twenty-four years of service to the Pimas in the region of what is now southern Arizona and northern Sonora, Mexico. It is no less pleasing to note in turn their faithful love for, and unbounded confidence in, this truly great pioneer padre.

It is of interest to observe that Professor Lockwood reaches different conclusions from those arrived at by another student in this field, namely, the Rev. Mark Bucher, O. F. M., with respect to what is nowadays the most famous mission of the Southwest, San Xavier del Bac. Our author states that there is little reason to doubt that the foundations laid by Father Kino in 1700 were incorporated in the present building which was completed by the Franciscans about a century later. This belief is supported by several logical arguments. Quite recently, however (HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XVI. 91, February, 1936), Father Bucher has presented almost irrefutable arguments to prove that the Kino mission and the present structure are two entirely different edifices located at different points. He states, moreover, that Dr. Bolton has accepted his findings, which tends to give even greater strength to his contention.

The book is divided into six chapters or "itineraries", and includes also a general index, thirty splendid plates illustrating various of the mission buildings at various stages in their history, a most helpful map of the Kino missionary territory, and an introduction, regrettably short, in which some highly interesting biographical material on Kino is given.

The errata, unfortunately, are rather numerous and not always unimportant: for example, the slip of one hundred years on p. iii, "1770 to 1773", and the same again, twice, on p. 36, "1787". Aside from these mistakes, the physical makeup of the volume is most attractive, and it is a pity that such errors must appear to mar an otherwise ideal book.

WALTER M. LANGFORD.

University of Notre Dame.

Guatemo, Last of the Aztec Emperors. By CORA WALKER. (New York: The Dayton Press, 1934. Pp. XV, 348. Illus. \$2.00.)

The author of this volume aims to show that "the Aztecs were the most advanced and enlightened nation and people in the world" some four hundred and fifty years ago. This strong contention is proved

by quotations from numerous writers and by the simple assertion of the author. But because "much that has been written about the Aztecs . . . is neither true nor just" the author has had to select her authorities carefully in order not to disprove her thesis. She says:

I have searched the writings of well informed historians who, from a sense of justice and fidelity, have given these defeated people due credit for their advancement, culture, and refinement; so my story differs materially from the usual accounts of the Aztecs. I have quoted these authoritative statements as proof that my story is not a fabrication but is based on facts.

Among the authorities quoted are Helps, Bancroft, Prescott, Draper, Frost, Biart, Boturini, Solis, Clavigero, Bernal Díaz, etc. But there are no footnotes and there is no bibliography.

Moreover, lest some prying modern historian will suspect that many of the illustrations, which the author considers an important contribution to her work, are composite faked portraits with modern faces on sixteenth century monkish drawings of Aztec leaders, the author says (page 4), "the illustrations in this volume are authentic, or are supposed to be, for they are mostly photographic reproductions from very old books. . . ." But, she adds, "the illustrations . . . probably reveal the conceptions of the illustrator rather than the facts. . . ." Yet the author is constantly taking these reproductions seriously and deducing facts from them. No indication is given of the source of many of the portraits. Moreover, the illustrator, Miss Martha Nelson, has taken advantage of an active imagination in the illustrations of Aztec architecture and Aztec characters. A case in point is found opposite page 53 where the hero of the book, Prince Guatemo, is shown at his desk in a book-filled library writing with a feather pen on sheets of paper. All about him are modern bound books. The author and the illustrator have, unfortunately for the historical value of the book, fallen in love with their good-looking hero; so much so in fact that the ugly Cortés is contrasted unfavorably by the use of such adjectives as libertine, adulterer, hypocrite, blasphemer, robber, cheat, liar, murderer, etc., etc. (pages 343-344). Another discovery that Miss Walker makes is that the Aztecs were not Indians because they did not have battle axes or scalping knives, did not dance a war dance, did not scalp their victims, did not smoke the pipe of peace, and did not "engage in any Indian practices". Human sacrifices seem to have been overlooked by the author.

After an introduction of sixty-four pages of prose and poetry, the author, on page 67, gives a cast of characters so that the play may begin. Then, with an interesting style, achieved by using conversation and the novelistic approach, she tells the story of the Spanish and Aztec clash, always contrasting the Spaniards unfavorably with their foes. But in the end the hero dies at the hands of the Europeans—a sad fate greatly to be regretted, since he is the last of the Aztec kings! This book is not history, although it purports to be.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

The George Washington University.

NOTES AND COMMENT

FREDERICK WEBB HODGE ANNIVERSARY PUBLICATION FUND

In December of 1886, Dr. Frederick Webb Hodge joined the Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological expedition to Arizona, and began a career in anthropology which will reach its fiftieth anniversary in 1936. The occasion is to be marked by the creation of the Frederick Webb Hodge Anniversary Publication Fund, under the guidance of the following Sponsoring Committee: H. B. Alexander, Franz Boas, Herbert E. Bolton, Fay-Cooper Cole, Carl E. Guthe, E. L. Hewett, Alš Hrdlička, A. V. Kidder, Jesse L. Nusbaum, Bruno Oettinger, Elsie Clews Parsons, Edward Sapir, Frank G. Speck, A. M. Tozzer, Henry R. Wagner, Clark Wissler. This Committee will appoint an editorial board, self-perpetuating, to select works in the field of American anthropology for publication by the Fund. Southwest Museum, of which Dr. Hodge has been Director since 1932, will administer the Fund as an endowment trust.

All publications will be sold, at approximate cost, the income of the Fund being used as a reserve to meet the heavy initial cost of printing and to cover possible deficits. Contributors to the Fund who so desire will receive a *pro rata* credit on its publications, enabling them eventually to recover in publications the amount of their contribution in dollars. Contributions should be sent to Hodge Fund, Southwest Museum, Los Angeles, California.

Dr. Hodge is one of the pioneers of American anthropology. A founder of the American Anthropological Association, he edited its journal the *American Anthropologist* during its first fifteen years, meeting much of the initial expense from his own pocket. The *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, always the standard work of reference on this subject, is but one among many of his editorial and original contributions to the study of aboriginal America. Dr. Hodge headed the Bureau of American Ethnology for eight years. His long career has been one of constant support and encouragement to the study of American prehistory. The Fund, which is to bear

his name, offers to his many friends and admirers an opportunity to do him personal honor, at the same time increasing the meager existing facilities for publication of research in the important field of American prehistory.

HERBERT E. BOLTON.

Berkeley, California.

THE FIRST LECTURER ON HISPANIC AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC HISTORY IN THE UNITED STATES

Daniel De Leon, one of the most colorful figures in the history of radicalism in this country, seems to have been the first lecturer in a university in the United States on Hispanic American diplomatic history.¹ The son of a Dutch medical officer, De Leon was born in Curaçao in 1852 and after some secondary school education in Holland and Germany entered Columbia Law School and formed one of a small group of students taught by the late Professor John Burgess at the beginning of his distinguished career at Columbia University. Burgess has described De Leon as a

very peculiar man in many respects, but a remarkably well-informed one. He knew more international law and diplomatic history than any man of his age I have ever met.²

After receiving the degree of LL.B. in 1878,³ De Leon practised law for a time in Texas and returned to Columbia in 1883 to win the first prize lectureship which had been established in 1882 in the new School of Political Science.⁴

The lectureship was to run for three years with an annual value of five hundred dollars. In order to be eligible for appointment the candidate must have been a graduate of Columbia and an active member of the Academy of Political Science, and must have read at least

¹ Most of the biographical information concerning De Leon come from a first-rate article by W. J. Ghent in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, V. 222-224.

² John W. Burgess, *Reminiscences of an American Scholar* (New York, 1934), p. 182.

³ In the college handbooks De Leon is listed as also possessing the Ph.D. degree, but according to a letter to the writer from the Registrar of Columbia University he received only an LL.B. from Columbia.

⁴ *Annual Report of the President of Columbia College* (1884), p. 36.

one paper before the Academy of Political Science during the year preceding the appointment. The duty of the lecturer was to deliver annually a series of at least twenty lectures, the result of original investigation, before the students of the School of Political Science.⁵

Therefore, in the second half of the academic year, Daniel De Leon, "prize lecturer on South American Diplomacy",⁶ delivered a series of twenty lectures which was described as follows:

South American Diplomacy.—This course of lectures embraces the history of the relations of Spain and Portugal to America during the colonial period, and the history of the diplomatic relations between the Empire of Brazil and its republican neighbors, down to our own time. The course closes with the new relations established between these States (and especially between the Platine States) after the war against Paraguay, 1865-1870.⁷

In the *Handbook* for the next year, 1885, De Leon is entitled "Lecturer on Latin-American diplomacy"⁸ and the following announcement shows what an interesting group of lectures he provided for the students in the School of Political Science:

Latin-American Diplomacy.—The object of this course is to give a knowledge of the leading questions of international law that have arisen in Latin America, of their historical development, and of the attitude taken in reference to these questions by the government of the United States. The course embraces:

I. The history of the diplomacy of Spain and Portugal with respect to America, during the colonial period; and the history of the diplomatic relations between the empire of Brazil and its republican neighbors down to our own time. The course closes with the new relations established between these states after the war against Paraguay, 1865-1870.

II. European interventions in Latin America.

- a. The forcible occupation by Great Britain of the Malvinas (Falkland Islands), 1833.
- b. The French intervention in La Plata, 1838-40.
- c. The French intervention in Mexico, 1838.
- d. The British intervention in Central America.
- e. The joint intervention of France and England in La Plata, 1845-50.
- f. The Spanish intervention in St. Domingo, 1861.
- g. The joint intervention of England, France, and Spain in Mexico, 1861.
- h. The Spanish intervention in the South Pacific, 1864.⁹

⁵ *Handbook of Information, Columbia College* (1884), p. 209.

⁶ *Ibid.* (1884), p. x.

⁷ *Ibid.* (1884), p. 203.

⁸ *Ibid.* (1885), p. xiii.

⁹ *Ibid.* (1885), p. 206.

De Leon delivered lectures according to the above program during the last year of his three-year lectureship (1883-1886) and during the second three-year term to which he was appointed in 1886. According to W. J. Ghent, De Leon's partisans have always asserted that "his retirement from the college was forced by his radical activities but the statement has been denied by competent authority".¹⁰

In any case, it would seem that De Leon did not do much to encourage the study of Hispanic American diplomacy at Columbia. During the whole of his six-year term as lecturer, he seems to have attracted no advanced students to the field and he published nothing on Hispanic American diplomatic questions except an eight-page political tract issued in 1884 "to business men" by the National Committee of Republicans and Independents, entitled *A specimen of Mr. Blaine's diplomacy: is he a safe man to trust as president?* In this pamphlet De Leon severely criticized Blaine's support of the Calderón government in Peru and exulted that the 1882 Blaine proposal for an American Congress had failed, because

had this foundation been laid, the doors would have been flung open for eternal foreign complications; our policy of peace would have become a thing of the past; at every moment we would have been called in by the underdog in each of those countries, and WE WOULD HAVE INVITED OURSELVES TO BECOME PARTIES IN ALL COMMOTIONS IN PERU, THE SAME AS GREAT BRITAIN HAS DONE IN THE EAST INDIES!¹¹

The elder statesmen of the School of Political Science faculty may have felt that Hispanic American diplomacy was too esoteric a subject to have as a permanent part of their curriculum or De Leon's growing interest in practical labor questions may have won out over his scholarly inclinations. In 1886, he actively supported the candidacy of Henry George for mayor of New York City and in 1888 joined the Knights of Labor. Thereafter, he enjoyed a prominent position in radical circles though never great influence because of personal peculiarities, but he did work out in his writings the concept of a revolutionary working-class organization formed by industries instead of crafts which Lenin accepted later as a picture of the ultimate

¹⁰ *Dictionary of American Biography*, V. 223.

¹¹ On page 8 of the tract. De Leon also published during the lectureship period an article on "The conference at Berlin on the West African question" in the *Political Science Quarterly* (I. 103-139) and a couple of book reviews in the same journal (I. 346-347; IV. 195-196).

form of government in Communist Russia.¹² Whatever may be the true reason for De Leon's retirement from the lectureship in 1889, the study of Hispanic American history at Columbia languished until William R. Shepherd offered a course in the "History of Spanish America" in 1904.¹³

LEWIS HANKE.

Harvard University.

INTEREST IN HISPANIC AMERICA MANIFESTED AT THE RICHMOND CONFERENCE OF THE AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

The extension and improvement of library service was the theme of the fifty-eighth annual convention of the American Library Association, which met in Richmond, Virginia, May 11-16. The increasing extension of librarians' interest to include Hispanic American affairs was evident in a session of the Council and in meetings of the Committee on Library Coöperation with Latin America and of the Committee on the Union Catalogue of Latin American Books. South American public documents were the subject of a paper by Dr. James B. Childs, read at a meeting of the Public Documents Committee. The publishers' exhibits this year included that of the Department of Middle American Research of Tulane University. The booth was unusually interesting, including as it did copies of the Department's publications and also drawings, photographs and colored plates of Middle American types, costumes, textiles, etc., and maps, one showing the Tulane Expeditions to Middle America.

The Committee on the Union Catalogue of Latin American Books, of which Mr. John T. Vance is chairman, held an open meeting. The catalogue as a finding list and as a bibliographical tool was discussed. The necessity for obtaining financial assistance in order to obtain entries from libraries in the United States and in Latin America and to coördinate them, was evident to all. The fact that the National Library in Madrid has deposited a set of its catalogue cards in the

¹² *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, V. 67.

¹³ Shepherd had been a prize lecturer in 1896-1899 but apparently did not lecture on Spanish America until 1904 (*Catalogue of Columbia University for 1904-1905*, p. 121).

Library of Congress will facilitate securing entries for that foreign library's Latin American holdings. The coöperation of other institutions will be bespoken, and means to start the clipping and mounting of such catalogues as those of the Argentine national library are desired.

At the last meeting of the A. L. A. Council, a resolution was presented by Miss Mary Helen McCrea, endorsing the project of the Committee on Library Coöperation with Latin America to secure funds for a fellowship for "interested students of Latin America". The Council unanimously endorsed the proposal and referred it to the Executive Board for further consideration. "Interested students of Latin America", a note to the resolution explains, means

students from Latin America who have chosen a project in their own field, or who wish to equip themselves with modern library practices in our library schools, and to students from the United States who have chosen to work on a Latin American project here (in the United States) or in Latin America, pertaining to library economy, bibliography, or some other project related to the library field.

To convince those who might believe that there are few suitable candidates, Mr. Gropp and Mrs. Datson compiled a list of forty-nine people in both Americas eligible for the fellowship.

The Committee on Library Coöperation with Latin America, besides presenting the above resolution, held, under the chairmanship of Miss McCrea, a regular, open meeting. An address, "Scientific libraries in Mexico City", was read by the author of these notes. Reports were then made on projects and activities of bodies with interests similar to those of the Committee. Mr. Henry O. Severance outlined and commented upon the proposed library and bibliographical survey of Hispanic America, which originated in the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association, and for which Dr. H. H. B. Meyer was to request funds from the American Library Institute. As a delegate of the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association, I had the pleasure of reporting that the *Glossary of Technical Library and Allied Terms*, compiled by Dr. David Rubio and Mary Carmel Sullivan . . . under the auspices of the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association will be issued during the summer. Miss M. Alice Matthews spoke on the establishment of the new center of Inter-American bibliography at the Pan American Union. In the words of the secretary of the committee,

The functions of this center are to record the bibliographies on Inter-American subjects completed and in preparation, to plan for future projects, to work toward the coördination and coöperation of Inter-American bibliographic efforts and to provide sources of information to interested persons.

A report by Dr. Stephen P. Duggan was read on the work of the Latin American Institute of International Education. In it the granting and administration of fellowships and assistance of Hispanic American students in their studies and the provision of opportunities for them to know the United States and American civilization better, were emphasized.

The committee is planning to issue a manual of American library practice in Spanish, as an answer to the questions asked by Hispanic American librarians regarding procedure in this country. Work on various phases of library work, such as cataloguing and classification, order, routine and routing, etc., has been volunteered by competent librarians. Miss McCrea will edit the whole, and it is hoped the material will be ready to present at the next annual convention.

ANNITA MELVILLE KER,
Delegate for THE HISPANIC AMERICAN
HISTORICAL REVIEW.

Library of Congress.

The *Memoria del Archivo General de Indias, correspondiente a los Años 1932-1934*, by Juan Tamayo y Francisco, Director del Archivo (pp. xxii, 138, illustrations; Sevilla, Tipografía de Manuel Carmona, 1935) is a valuable summary of progress at that archive during the first three years of Sr. Tamayo's able directorship. There are thirty tables, covering such things as the number of investigators monthly, by nations, and the number of legajos used for each archival division. The preliminary pages relate the work of the staff, and at the end are lists of works added to the Library by gift, purchase, or exchange. These lists show that the library is becoming extensive.¹ Incidentally, they have bibliographical value for students out of touch with Hispanic publishing. The staff work has included completion of

¹ The decree of April 11, 1933, which ordered large accessions to the library, included an order for removal there of the library of the former Ministerio de Ultramar. The latter has for years occupied a special section of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. Apparently it has not yet been sent to Seville. It numbers over 8,000 volumes. The present library, late in 1935, had 4,994 volumes and many pamphlets.

the library catalogue, revision of the catalogues of legajos and maps, the ordering and binding of the "Sección de Patronato", and progress on the catalogues of sixteenth century laws and of articles in Hispanic American historical reviews. The outstanding new aids to investigation have been the preparation of "fichas" for the "Papeles de Cadiz", (*Sección 12*) and the search for and arrangement of maps for the Audiencias of Santo Domingo and Caracas.—R. D. H.

The Institute of Historical Research of the University of London held its fourth annual conference of historians, July 6-11, inclusive, in London, at Malet St., W. C. 1 (behind the British Museum)—the headquarters of the Institute—and in other designated places. The conference was divided into several sections, section meetings being held at 5 P.M., on July 7, and at 10 A.M., on July 8, 9, and 10. The program outlined for the section on "Historical relations between Europe and the American Continents was as follows:

Chairman: Professor H. Hale Bellot (London).

Secretary: Dr. P. H. Box (London).

(a) The Study of Latin-American History. *Chairman:* Mr. Philip Guedalla.

The Study of Latin-American History in the United States.

Speaker: Professor A. S. Aiton (Michigan).

The Study of Latin-American History in Great Britain.

Speaker: Mr. F. A. Kirkpatrick.

The Scope and Facilities for the Study of Latin-American History in Spain.

Speaker (by proxy): Miss Irene Wright.

(b) Historical Relations of Europe and the United States.

Speaker: Dr. J. A. Hawgood (Birmingham) and Mr. H. L. Beales (London).

A public library has recently been organized in the city of Mexico which is known as "The Library of the Congress of the Union". This institution appears to consist of the joint collections of the libraries of the Chamber of Deputies, the Senate, and the chief account-office of the hacienda. The library committee has made a request not only for official publications in the United States but asks also that scientific and literary societies, and labor and cultural organizations in the United States be informed of the desire of the library to receive as gifts any books, pamphlets, or periodicals of a scientific, historical, sociological, or legal character. The response to this request from the United States should be generous.

Dr. Arthur P. Whitaker, Professor of American History at Cornell University, has been appointed professor of Latin American History at the University of Pennsylvania.

Dr. James A. Robertson was awarded a gold medal on April 26 by the Instituto de las Españas, Sección de Florida, at Winter Park, Florida, in commemoration of the 320th anniversary of the death of Miguel Saavedra de Cervantes. This was the first awarding of the Cervantes medal by the Instituto and was given to its recipient for his work in the history of Spanish Florida.

On June 11, was celebrated the formal inauguration of the Institute of Jesuit History of Loyola University, in Chicago. The exercises were held in the Elizabeth M. Cudahy Memorial Library on the Lake Shore Campus. At the afternoon session, Dr. Herbert E. Bolton gave an address on "The Jesuits in America: An Opportunity for Historians." The evening session was presided over by Dr. Bolton. The purposes of the Institute were explained by Drs. Jerome V. Jacobsen, and W. Eugene Shiels, the Director and Assistant Director of the new Institute.

Miss Annita M. Ker, of the Catalogue Division of the Library of Congress, whose report of the Richmond A. L. A. meeting is published in this issue of the REVIEW, has been awarded a fellowship for the year 1936-1937, by the American Library Association. She will compile a guide to Mexican public documents, from the achievement of independence to the present time, and her work will be performed under the guidance of the Library of Congress. Investigations will be carried on in this country, chiefly at the Library of Congress, and in the City of Mexico. Active work will commence in July and continue for a year. The project consists of two parts: the first, a rather complete study of the government organizations issuing publications, including in this, quotations from, or citations of, the laws establishing the various offices, their history as regards change of duties and name, their relation to other parts of the government, and all other facts that may be of interest to the student; the second, a list of the principal publications of the Mexican Government, emphasizing serials, and including as time permits more and more of the less important publications. The nature of the publications will be noted and a bibliographical description given. While Miss Ker does not

expect to produce a completely exhaustive work, there is no doubt that the results of her work will prove useful, not only to the librarian, but also to the historian, the lawyer, the educator, the student of foreign affairs, in short to all those who seek assistance in getting at the wealth of information contained in Mexican public documents. Miss Ker is well equipped for her task. She has lived in Mexico for a number of years and knows her Spanish thoroughly. She represented this REVIEW at the recent A. L. A. meeting in Richmond.

About October 1 will appear a *Handbook of Latin American Studies*, sponsored by a national committee representing the various disciplines, formed last year under the chairmanship of Professor C. H. Haring. The Handbook will consist of a selected list, with informative and critical comment, of all important items published during 1935 in the fields of Anthropology, Archaeology, Economics, Geography, History, Law, and Literature. A few special articles of a bibliographical nature will be included, as well as a section on Government Documents and a Query Section designed to be a clearing house for information concerning difficult or disputed points. A warm welcome will be given to all queries sent to the editor (Lewis Hanke, 95 Widener Library, Harvard University) before September 1. The publication of this first issue is made possible by a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies. If the Handbook lives and becomes an annual affair, subscriptions will be necessary to support it, and an earnest appeal is hereby made to all libraries and individuals interested to send in their subscriptions to the editor. The *Handbook* will cost about \$2.50 and the present organization is as follows:

A. *Anthropology and Archaeology*

I. Middle America

a. Physical anthropology, linguistics and archaeology

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. General statement on development
of the field | } A. M. Tozzer,
Harvard University. |
| 2. List of expeditions to the area | |
| 3. Critical bibliography | |

b. Ethnology

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. General statement on development
of the field | } Robert Redfield,
Univ. of Chicago. |
| 2. Critical bibliography | |

II. South America

Not yet arranged for

B. Economics**I. The Caribbean Area (including Colombia, Venezuela, the Guianas)**

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| a. General statement | } Chester Lloyd Jones,
Univ. of Wisconsin. |
| b. Critical bibliography | |

II. South America (including Brazil)

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| a. General statement | } D. M. Phelps,
Univ. of Michigan. |
| b. Critical bibliography | |

C. Geography**I. Maps. A list of all maps published during the year.**

- | | |
|---|--|
| II. Expeditions. A list of all expeditions, with a brief statement of results, if possible. | } Raye R. Platt,
American
Geographical
Society. |
| | |

III. The Caribbean Area (including Colombia, Venezuela, the Guianas)

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| a. General statement | } Clarence F. Jones,
Clark University |
| b. Critical bibliography | |

IV. South America (including Brazil)

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| a. General statement | } Preston James,
Univ. of Michigan. |
| b. Critical Bibliography | |

(Note: If the Handbook lives, the 1937 issue will have Preston James responsible for Brazil and Robert Platt of the University of Chicago, for the rest of South America.)

D. Government Documents

- | | |
|---|---|
| I. Documents published in Great Britain | } Rolin A. Humphreys,
Univ. College, London. |
| II. Documents published in the Americas | |
| | } Charles E. Babcock,
Pan American Union. |

E. History**I. Spanish America: The Colonial Period**

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| a. General statement | } Arthur S. Aiton,
Univ. of Michigan. |
| b. Critical bibliography | |

II. Spanish America: The Revolutionary Period (1806-1830)

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| a. General statement | } W. S. Robertson,
Univ. of Illinois. |
| b. Critical bibliography | |

III. Mexico, Central America, The Islands: The National Period

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| a. General statement | } Charles W. Hackett,
Univ. of Texas. |
| b. Critical bibliography | |

IV. South America (excluding Brazil): The National Period

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| a. General statement | } C. H. Haring,
Harvard University. |
| b. Critical bibliography | |

V. Brazil (colonial, revolutionary, national periods)

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| a. General statement | } P. A. Martin,
Stanford University. |
| b. Critical bibliography | |

F. *Law*

} John T. Vance,
 } The Library of Congress.

G. *Literature*

I. Spanish America: The Colonial Period (to 1830)

a. General statement } Irving A. Leonard,
 b. Critical bibliography } Univ. of California.

II. Spanish America: The National Period

a. General statement } Sturgis E. Leavitt,
 b. Critical bibliography } Univ. of North Carolina.

III. Brazil

} Samuel Putman,
 } Lambertville, N. J.

H. *Special Articles*

I. The colonial Archives of Guatemala. } Lesley B. Simpson,
 } Univ. of California.

II. The published cabildo records of Quito } W. W. Pierson,
 and Lima and their value for students } Univ. of North Carolina.
 of the social sciences

III. The medical literature of Peru. } Nathan van Patten,
 } Stanford University.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

GERMAN LITERATURE RELATIVE TO HISPANIC AMERICA

The following notes supplement those previously published in this REVIEW (XIV, pp. 101-107). The history of Hispanic America is still rather rarely discussed by German writers, descriptions of journeys, geographical books, and scientific publications forming the far greater part of the output in German. The *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv* appearing every three months, edited by the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut at Berlin (Ferdinand Dümmlers Verlag, Berlin S.W. and Bonn) gives a nearly complete bibliography of new German publications (books as well as articles in periodicals) covering the whole range of science, political economy, and the spiritual life of Hispanic America.

GENERAL LITERATURE

Some years ago, Moritz Diesterweg, Frankfurt a.M., published handbooks on foreign countries. Among these the *Handbuch der Spanienkunde* will be of interest to the student of Hispanic American history. Though its publication dates back to 1932, it may still safely be recommended as a reliable source of information. It aims at a scientific presentation of the formation of the character of the Spanish people and an understanding of its variety. The method of presentation is excellent, and every chapter contains a bibliography. Wolfgang Panzer gives a survey of the country in this handbook and shows the geographical foundation of its culture. The history of the state and society from the beginnings up to the Republic has been written by Gertrud Wacker. Othmar Fessler has contributed a short account of the political economy and W. von Rauchhaupt attempts to portray the workings of Spanish law. Adolf Rohlfing furnishes much valuable information on education in Spain. It is not necessary to be a philologist to understand Eugen Lerch's treatise on the Spanish language. The survey of Spanish Literature by Adalbert Hämel is excellent. Both he and Heinrich Lützel, who wrote the chapter on art, could hardly say anything new on their subject. Otto

Ursprung deserves praise for his contribution concerning music in Spain. The chapters on religion and philosophy have been written by Alois Mager, O.S. The student must, however, exercise his critical faculty in order to correct the rather one-sided viewpoint of the author. A clever analysis of modern Spain, written by Gertrud Richert, closes the volume.

CENTRAL AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

German-speaking scholars have had an important share in the investigation of the ancient American civilizations. The numerous publications appearing annually on this subject are a sure proof of the constant and serious endeavors toward a fuller knowledge. Following their pioneer Sapper, most of his disciples deal with the Maya culture. Among the more recent books must chiefly be mentioned E. P. Diesseldorff's publications. Of his work *Kunst und Religion der Mayavölker*, three volumes have thus far appeared (Vols. I and II, 1926 and 1931, Juilis Springer, editor, Berlin; Vol. III, L. Friedrichsen & Co., Hamburg, 1933). The first volume gives a general survey, the second deals with the monuments of Copan, the third furnishes an explanation of the complicated calendar system. All three volumes contain extraordinarily excellent plates.

Among ethnological books deserving first mention is Leonhard Schultze Jena's *Indiana. Leben, Glaube und Sprache der Quiché von Guatemala* (Gustav Fischer, Publisher, Jena, 1933, pp. 394). To the historian of ancient America and especially Central America this work is a treasure house of facts. Schultze Jena studied the Quiché at Chichicastenango and Momostenango. He recorded a great many prayers which initiate every phase of the life of the Quiché Indians. To facilitate the understanding of the texts which are published in the original language and in German, Schultze Jena describes the outward aspect of the life out of which a prayer arose or to which it belongs as an accustomed rite. Thus we are enabled to know the spiritual life of the Indian from his birth to his death. The texts were all recorded directly, word for word. In a short introduction, Schultze Jena records the sociological and ethnological results which every reader is enabled to examine. Schultze Jena's observations on the grammar of the language of the Quiché include an analytical dictionary. Twenty-four splendid plates adorn this standard work of ethnology.

GEOGRAPHY

We mentioned in an earlier summary Oscar Schmieder's *Länderkunde Südamerikas*. To this he has now added a geography of Central America (Oscar Schmieder, *Länderkunde Mittelamerikas. Westindien, Mexico und Zentralamerika*. Franz Deuticke, publisher, Leipzig and Wien, 1934, pp. 194). The historian will be pleased with the description of the evolution of these regions, based on geographical as well as historical knowledge. Lecturing for a time at the University of California, Herr Schmieder had abundant opportunity for traveling in Mexico and Central America. In the center of his description there is always the *Grosslandschaft*. He describes its purely geographical factors, the Indian's landscape (*Landform*), the discovery and colonization, and the changes of landscape under the influence of man. As Schmieder insists mainly on the evolution of the landscape and avoids a merely geographical treatment, he succeeds in giving us a truly readable geography of these countries.

Franz Kühn's geography of the culture of Argentina represents a very interesting experiment (Franz Kühn, *Grundriss der Kulturgeographie von Argentinien*. Verlag Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co., Hamburg, 1933, pp. 240.) Herr Kühn has lectured for nearly twenty years in Argentina and has written a leading work on the physical geography of that country. In his new book, he tries to investigate a circumscribed South-American living space, in view of anthropo-geographical and geo-political facts, i.e., he tries to show from a geographic-genetic point of view those conditions which were brought about by the taking possession of the space and its being made useful by the inhabitants. Many valuable ideas of a new science are to be found in this book, a geographical science based on history. On the other hand, it may have also a useful influence on historical method.

TRAVEL

Travel books form the most numerous class of German books on Hispanic America. Few of them are of value to the historian. Among the more recent publications deserves to be mentioned Walther Penck's *Puna de Atacama. Bergfahrten und Jagden in der Cordillere von Südamerika*, J. Engelhorn's Nachfolger, publisher, Stuttgart, 1933, pp. 232. Walther Penck, who died early, was the son of the geographer Albrecht Penck. He published the scientific results of

his two journeys to the Puna de Atacama between 1912 and 1914 shortly after the war. The above-mentioned book is a diary of a journey to the desert-plateau between Argentina and Chile, which Penck undertook on behalf of the Argentine Government. Penck is an excellent descriptive writer, nothing of importance escaping his keen eye. In his youthful enthusiasm he made several first ascensions of mountains of over 6,000 meters in the Puna.

FICTION

Ancient American civilization has recently become even a subject for novels. As in this case there are no bounds set to the imagination, the historical attitude is wanting in large part. All the writer's good intentions to erect his story on solid scientific knowledge will scarcely enable him to present a picture that deserves the reputation of probability. Such novels will rarely escape the danger of artificiality, and this fact will prevent them from ever attaining real popularity. Herta Lenz de Brügger in *Götter, die zu Menschen wurden. Roman aus dem Incareich* (Strecker und Schröder, Publishers, Stuttgart, 1933) tries in stilted language to evoke those far-remote times and to show the schism that arose between the fulfilment of the sun laws and human feeling.

DICTIONARY

F. A. Brockhaus, publishers in Leipzig, have published a Spanish-German dictionary by Professor Ernst Pfohl. This work fulfils all the expectations which those who knew the same author's French-German dictionary could entertain. It surprises by its unexampled wealth compared to its size, and by its astonishing completeness. As it contains also many Hispanic-American terms, it is a reliable help to the German-speaking student of Hispanic-American literature. It is an equally serviceable book for daily use on account of its wealth of modern terms of industry, commerce, and traffic.

HANS W. HARTMANN.

Kilchberg (Zürich), Switzerland.

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS IN HISPANIC AMERICA

The first volume of the latest work of José Vasconcelos, *Ulises Criollo* has now reached its fifth edition and has been followed by the second volume in this autobiographical series, entitled, *La Tormenta*. This volume, too, has been reprinted in a second edition. The two volumes constitute the account of a portion only of the life and achievement of José Vasconcelos taking the story down to approximately the world war. His activities of a later date, especially those related to the reconstruction of Mexican education, have not yet been published. The first volume, with its suggestive title, outlines the life and preoccupations of Vasconcelos from his earliest recollections as a child in Piedras Negras on the Texas frontier to the outbreak of the Madero revolution. The thick tome of about five hundred pages carries the tale down to the success of the anti-reëlectionist movement and the return of the author to Mexico, as a member of the triumphant party. The second describes the agitated period of 1910 onward. Written simply, the personal element is strong and deftly combined with the exposition of intellectual and political forces that were at work in the Mexico of 1890 to 1910. The work is published by the well known Ediciones Botas of Mexico City.

The Ministry of Education of Cuba is sponsoring an interesting series of publications under the title of *Cuadernos de Cultura*. These modest little booklets are distributed gratis and embrace a remarkably wide selection from the historians and literary figures of Cuba. The following constitute the list of those published to date:

Gabriela Mistral, *La Lengua de Martí*.

Pbro. Félix Varela, *Educación y patriotismo*.

José Martí, *Educación*.

José de la Cruz Caballero, *Filosofía y Pedagogía*.

José Antonio Saco, *Ideario Reformista*.

Máximo Gómez, *Recuerdos y Previsiones*.

José Martí, *Hombres de Cuba*.

Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, *Selección poética*.

The authority immediately responsible for these publications is the recently created *Dirección de Cultura* of the Ministry of Education in Habana.

This same entity is publishing the excellent *Revista Cubana* which compares favorably with the *Universidad de la Habana*, the appearance and content of which are so striking.

Several important works have been published of late in Bolivia or from the pen of Bolivian writers. Dr. Enrique Finot, the present minister of Bolivia in Washington has published, under the auspices of the Instituto de las Españas, a short monograph on the colonial culture of Upper Perú, with the title *La Cultura colonial en el Alto Perú*. This is the published form of a lecture delivered on Columbus Day of 1934 in Washington. The most important feature of this essay is the description and appreciation of colonial architecture in what is today Bolivia.

Dr. Finot has just brought out in New York a work of interest to the historical investigator, called *Bolívar Pacifista* (New York, L. and S. Printing Co. 1936). This volume of some two hundred pages grew out of a lecture delivered before the Roerich Museum in New York and a paper read before the Pan-American Institute of History and Geography in Washington. The intent and viewpoint of the book is to focus attention on Bolívar the internationalist and statesman and not on Bolívar the warrior. Dr. Finot devotes himself exclusively to a study of the diplomacy of the Liberator and those characteristics of his policy which reveal an international purpose. The sources are for the most part the published writings of Bolívar: the Lecuna collection of letters and the older one of Blanco and Azpurua. Bolívar, the pacifist, is the broad term used to cover these aspects of his career. International Law, arbitration, the Panamá congress, and the general efforts to preserve peace as the heritage of America form the different chapters into which the book is divided. It is distinguished by the polished and elevated style peculiar to everything that Dr. Finot writes. This study of Bolívar coincides with that of Dr. Gabriel Porras Troconis of Colombia with his *Gesta Bolivariana*. The approach in both cases is somewhat similar.

Jaime Mendoza, of Sucre, has published a geographical study mixed with historical references, *El Macizo Boliviano* (La Paz,

1935). The book treats of the high plateau country of the Andes, of the Yungas, and of the region of Charcas. There is an abundance of reference to flora and fauna, communication, and racial groups. The work is a good resumé of the vital factor of geography and natural conditions in Bolivia.

The Bolivian pedagogue, María Frontaura Argandoña, has issued through the Editorial América of La Paz a study of Aymara and Quechua folklore. The title is *Mitología Aymará y Khechua* (La Paz, 1935). The book carries a preface by Paul Rivet of Paris and a commentary in flattering terms from Luis S. Crespo, the well known Bolivian historian, recently deceased. The study is of undoubted value for the historical scholar of Hispanic América. Dealing as it does with the two races that form the bulk of the population of the Andean region of Peru and Bolivia, the careful investigation of mythology and folklore cannot fail to reveal many angles that in their turn contribute to the understanding of the mere modern evolution of the country. Srta. Frontaura analyzes first of all the two racial groups themselves, then the sources for the study. Attention is devoted particularly to the study of fetichism, idol worship, and the cult of the dead or ancestors. A vast number of myths and legends are brought together, both religious and profane. The mythology of the origins of these kindred peoples, the myths of Lake Titicaca, and the beginnings of the nation that dominated the higher Andes constitute numerous chapters of the book. It would be too difficult to point out the diversity of aspects treated in the work. It is one of the first studies of its kind of an Indian group of extraordinary importance in the appreciation of contemporary Bolivia.

In the far eastern region of Bolivia, at Riberalta in the Beni, a small monthly review is published, now in its third year. It is called *Moxos* and is under the direction of Félix Sattori. This section of Bolivia, comprising the vast department of Santa Cruz and the Beni has long suffered from an almost total intellectual stagnation and the complete indifference of the rest of the nation. The number of publications is extremely limited and the appearance of this well edited and excellently printed review is a revelation. Aside from the social and immediately local note, the magazine publishes regularly material of interest to the historian and the economist. It demonstrates the irrefutable fact that the Chaco War has produced a social revolution in Bolivia. The Oriente region was the scene of the conflict and both

Santa Cruz and the Beni departments responded heavily to the call to arms and the material sacrifice necessary to carry on the war against Paraguay. Now that peace has come, these regions demand a portion of the attention of the national government in its effort to build up a reformed and reconstructed economic and social structure. The Beni is intensely interesting from the historical point of view and no better organ exists for a knowledge of this remote territory than *Moxos*.

Within the last few months, two important historical works have been published in Nicaragua. Late in 1935 there was issued at Managua, the *Biografía del General Don Pedro Joaquín Chamorro*, by Esteban Escobar. It deals with one of the most significant figures of nineteenth-century Central America, and certainly with one of the most outstanding of the members of the Chamorro family of Nicaragua. The life of General Chamorro embraces almost the entire century (from 1818 to 1890). Besides a constant participation in the domestic affairs of Central America, General Chamorro distinguished himself above all for his tenacious resistance to the invasion of the filibuster Walker. The reader will discover a vast amount of information in this work concerning Nicaragua affairs, politics, revolutions, and general development. The organization of the text is a little confusing and sometimes overlapping. Dr. Emilio Alvarez of the Academy of History and Geography of Nicaragua published his *Ensayo Histórico sobre el Derecho Constitucional de Nicaragua* early this year at Managua. The first part of this heavily documented work is of primary interest. Beginning with a description of Nicaragua as to frontiers, population, and geographical position, the author deals successively with the discovery and conquest, the colonial epoch, the régime in vogue in Central America under Spain, and with the separation from the mother country. A large portion of the text is taken up with the reproduction of constitutions and special dispositions, but attention is paid to the analysis of each one of the basic documents in the constitutional evolution of the Nicaragua nation. The final chapters considers the territorial and boundary controversies in which Nicaragua has been involved.

Under the title *Sobre el Tablado* (Bogotá, 1935), the Venezuelan minister in Colombia, Dr. Diego Carbonell has brought together a number of his lectures and addresses of an historical character. Several of these essays, which are connected together very loosely, treat in

some way or other of Simón Bolívar. There is one, however, on Vasco Núñez de Balboa, and a study of the crossing of the Andes by San Martín. Curiously enough much of the material on Bolívar is of a socio-medical character, quite natural in the case of Dr. Carbonell, whose interest and research in the biological sciences is widely known. The final essay studies the life and work of the noted Colombian historian, José Manuel Restrepo.

Two new university publications deserve brief mention. At Medellín, Colombia, the University of Antioquia is publishing a monthly bulletin, called *Universidad de Antioquia*. Those charged with this publication are Dr. Clodomiro Ramírez, rector of the University, and Dr. Alfonso Mora Naranjo, the director general of the University library. There are the usual literary and historical monographs and much information and data on the intellectual life of the university.

The first number of *Universidad*, journal of the Universidad Nacional del Litoral at Santa Fe, Argentina, is at hand. A splendidly printed and edited review, it promises to be one of the best of the university periodical publications in Hispanic America. The review is edited and directed by the rector, Dr. Josue Gollan H. and the secretary general of the institution, Dr. Angel S. Caballero Martín. The articles are high in number and quality. The two that are most striking in this initial number are *Interpretaciones antiguas y modernas de la Historia*, by Dr. José María Rosa, and *Los Comuneros paraguayos de principios del Siglo XVIII*, by Dr. Caballero Martín.

On what is almost his seventy-fifth birthday, the Chilean historian, Domingo Amunátegui Solar, has prepared a small volume called *La Emancipación de Hispano América* (Ediciones de la Universidad de Chile, Santiago, 1936). While presenting nothing new or original in connection with the separation of the Hispanic American colonies from Spain, Dr. Amunátegui Solar does suggest in a few more than two hundred pages the general background and motivating forces in this creation of the independent states of the new world. The salient feature of the book is probably the emphasis given to the factor of European politics and international rivalries, rather than to elements of a purely American nature.

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SOME RECENT NOVELS IN ENGLISH DEALING WITH HISPANIC AMERICA

Almost every week there appears in the United States a novel dealing with some Hispanic American country or individual. The plots are often simple and naïve, occasionally they are concerned with sophisticated subjects, and a few deal with historical events and are well written. Among a large number of these books which have come to the writer's attention are several which seem worthy of brief notice.

A fantastically told tale is *The Moor's Gold* by Ben Arouin (Argus Books, Chicago, 1935, pp. 271, \$2.00). An American college student, David Perez, is transported, after a fervid dream, back to Spain to the year 1492, where his father is a captain in the guard of Ferdinand and Isabella. His father is a converted Jew, and the narrative which follows shows the persecution of the Jews under the Spanish Inquisition. In the midst of the picture stalks Christopher Columbus as a converted Jew, who hopes to barter empires which he plans to discover for a few ships which he needs in order to make his discovery. The story is entertaining but not satisfying, largely, perhaps, because of the device of transporting the hero and the action back and forth between twentieth century New York and fifteenth century Spain.

A story about the Incas which is better suited for younger readers than for adults is *The Scarlet Fringe* by Helen Clark Fernald and Edwin M. Slocombe (Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1932, pp. xviii, 236, \$2.00). The story is set in the sixteenth century in the high Andes of Peru at the city of Macchu Piccu, where several hundred Inca Indians hope to escape the Spanish conquest. The Inca Manco and his people are mystified by the disappearance of golden vessels from the Temple of the Sun and by other mysterious events which are considered as evil omens. When the Inca is killed by a Spanish fugitive, the Indians retire to their citadel, burning their swinging bridges behind them. Eventually they reach the "lost city", Tampu-Tocco, where the Scarlet Fringe is found. This insignia is placed about the head of the new Inca, Paullu. The book is well illustrated.

Another account for older children is *Conquistador* by E. J.

Craine (Duffield and Green, New York, 1931, pp. xiv, 288, illus.), in which is told the story of the age of Pizarro. More particularly the book deals with the adventures of Pedro Cieza de León beginning at the time he left Spain with Heredia and continuing for several years through Peruvian history. The story is based upon Cieza's history of Peru, from which long quotations are given. The book is interesting, well written, and well illustrated.

Immediately following *Conquistador* came Mr. Craine's *The Victors* (Duffield and Green, New York, 1933, pp. xii, 254, illus., \$2.00), which is the narrative of the life of Garcilaso de la Vega while in Peru. Like the author's previous work, this rests upon his hero's writings, the Royal Commentaries, from which are made many quotations. The story is for older boys, but adults will no doubt find it interesting.

The story of the conquest of Mexico has been told recently in fiction by Eduard Stucken under the title *The Great White Gods* (Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., New York, 1934, pp. vi, 712, illus., \$3.00). This massive work is a translation from the German and constitutes "an epic of the Spanish invasion of Mexico and the conquest of the barbaric Aztec culture of the New World". It is handsomely illustrated, well written, and dramatically told. It is essentially a work for adults.

A second recent novel dealing with the age of Cortés is *María Paluna* by Blair Niles (Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1934, pp. viii, 334, \$2.50). This tells the story of a Quiché child in Guatemala who grows up during the narrative. The love of the girl for one of the men in Cortés's army makes possible the introduction of various historic episodes. The style and story are alike interesting.

A tale of seventeenth century swashbuckling is *Drake's Sword*, by Merritt P. Allen (D. Appleton-Century Company, New York, 1934, pp. 226, illus., \$2.00). The sword of the story had been given to an English family by Sir Francis Drake, but the Englishman who used the sword against the Spaniards in the West Indies cowardly surrendered it. His son, the hero of the narrative, went to Spanish America to find and regain it. Fighting under Morgan, he finally redeemed the family honor and returned safely to England.

Novels dealing with Mexico are numerous. The story of Mexican oil is told by Carlton Beals in *Black River* (J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 1934, pp. 409, \$2.50). This black river of wealth has

had a great effect upon the people who looked for it and upon those who controlled it. The plot centers around a fictitious American Oil Company at Tampico, and the story is told in a bizarre, tough, lusty, and raw fashion.

It is inevitable that the story of Texas independence should be told in novel form at this time. In *The Road to San Jacinto* (The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, 1936, pp. 334, \$2.00), J. Frank Davis has written the imaginary autobiography of Mark Lyle, who goes from Savannah, Georgia, to Texas, where he joins the forces of Sam Houston. The picture is one of Texas frontier life in the midst of which appear the great characters of local history: Houston, Austin, Bowie, Travis, Crockett, Santa Anna, and others. With them mingle the fictional characters of the book, including the Quaker girl from Pennsylvania with whom the hero falls in love. This is a good historical novel of Texas in the 1830's.

A story of California mission days is told in *Savages and Saints* (E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., New York, 1936, pp. 373, \$2.50), by Mrs. Fremont Older. As penance for forgetting his vows, Father Pedro Lacey, an Irish priest, is given the task of restoring the mission of Santa Lucia, built by Father Junípero Serra, but abandoned after the Americans went to California. Eventually the mission was reopened. The narrative includes a fiery bandit and numerous other picturesque characters. The book is beautifully descriptive, and the Spanish background is well, perhaps over-well, pictured.

Several novels in a lighter vein have their scene of action set in Mexico. *Sometime: Somewhere*, by Martin R. A. Gonzalez (Alliance Press, New York, 1935, pp. 323, \$2.00), tells about the son of an American mining engineer and a Mexican mother, who passes through a series of improbable ordeals, including the loss of his mind and his memory, and who eventually finds great riches in the Del Monte Mine. The title comes from a dream about a beautiful girl.

Flight South (The Macaulay Company, New York, 1935, pp. 255, \$2.50), by Charles Grayson, is a sophisticated tale of two dissolute neurotics, twin brother and sister, who in Mexico City find their social level and finally disintegrate morally and physically from too much night life and high living. The story is set in the midst of picturesque cock fights, bull fights, and man fights.

Gunsmoke Hacienda (J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 1936, pp. 301, \$2.00), by Grant Taylor, a writer of western stories, recounts

the adventures of Nora Falconer, who takes her father's herds of horses into Mexico to seek better pasture. But the horses are wanted by a Mexican bandit in order to begin a revolution. The story has several absurd climaxes, and the hero, Cole Courtney, finally saves the day and the girl by stabbing the bandit in a fight to the finish.

Somewhere in Central America a young American mining engineer attended church one Sunday morning, where he saw a smiling señorita who proved to be the daughter of the local chief magnate—the tycoon of the region. What happened after that is told by C. E. Soggins in *Tycoon* (Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York, 1934, pp. 354, \$2.00).

In the Panama jungle is the hide-away of a South American dictator, Luís Trujillo Rojas. There he is accidentally found by a United States magnate dictator and his daughter, who are fleeing from United States federal agents. The young lady falls in love with the dictator and in consequence the revolution becomes complicated. The story evolves around *The House of Trujillo*, written by Anne Cameron (D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1935, pp. 277, \$2.00).

The West Indian Islands supply the setting for *The Crack of Doom* (The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, 1934, pp. 290, \$2.00). The book is divided into three parts: the first has a seventeenth-century setting and deals with the founding of a family in the West Indies by one of Morgan's lieutenants; the second and third parts deal with the descendants of the family at the present time, amidst tropical troubles and catastrophes of nature. The story is vivid and the style sometimes a little curious.

A recent translation from the Spanish of Cirilo Villaverde is *The Quadroon or Cecilia Valdes* (L. C. Page and Co., Boston, 1935, pp. 399), which deals with "The Little Bronze Virgin" (Cecilia Valdes), and which is a romance of old Havana a century ago. This is a love story which moves through a tropical setting, amidst scenes of folk-dances and fiestas, to the rhythm of exotic music.

John Masefield, the poet laureate of England, has written *The Taking of the Gry* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1934, pp. 193, \$1.75), which has for its locale the eastern portion of the Spanish Main. The story is told in the first person. The word "Gry" is Dutch for "horse", and the Dutch-built ship of that name forms the central theme in the story. This ship, carrying munitions for revolutionists, is captured by the enemy. The problem is to retake the

Gry. This novel pokes sly fun at Hispanic American revolutionists and, while it can not rank with O'Henry's *Cabbages and Kings*, it is amusing.

From Argentina comes the novel *Holy Wednesday* (D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1934, pp. 208, \$2.00), by Manuel Galvez, translated into English by W. B. Wells. This psychological story lays bare the soul of Father Eudocio Solanas, a priest in Buenos Aires, who tried constantly to subdue the evil within himself. On Holy Wednesday his life as a priest is described in detail and the inner thoughts of the man, who can not forget what he might have been had he not entered the priesthood, are described.

Another story laid in Buenos Aires is *Dr. Morath* (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1936, pp. 414, \$2.50), by Max René Hesse, a translation from the German. It tells of hospital life in the Argentine capital and the attempt of an idealistic young surgeon to attain success. Intimate scenes of domestic and hospital life are depicted and, while the book is interesting, to many it may be depressing. This too is a study in psychology.

Doubtless the best novel concerning Argentine life, and especially that of the *gaucho*, to be translated into English, is *Don Segundo Sombra* (Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1935, pp. xii, 270, illus., \$2.00), by the well-known writer, Ricardo Güiraldes. No one can deny that this story of life on the Argentine range is not only vivid but well written, for there is probably no better picture of the wandering *gaucho* printed. The narrative is told in the first person by a foot-loose urchin who, wherever he goes, encounters Don Segundo in person or in legend. To the urchin the famous *gaucho* is a hero. The description is excellent and the book should be read by all students of Argentine life and history.

A volume dealing with Brazil, translated from the Portuguese of Ferreira de Castro, is entitled *Jungle* (The Viking Press, New York, 1935, pp. xii, 340). The author tells of a young man who as a university student was exiled from an European country and thrust without preparation into the hard life of a rubber-tapper. To tell how he overcame his environment and reached a position of trust is the aim of the author. The background scene is vivid and excellent.

Another account dealing with Brazilian environment is *Red Macaw* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1934, pp. 384, \$2.00), by Mrs. Phoebe Haggard, who lived in Brazil for fifteen years and for part of the time in Minas Geraes, the setting for the plot. The narrative

begins about 1820 on a great plantation and describes the horrors of slavery and the slight improvements which occurred as the result of emancipation. The story is brutal, exciting, and interesting.

A third story dealing with Brazil is by Lewis E. Theiss entitled *The Flying Explorer* (W. A. Wilde Co., Boston, 1935, pp. 304, \$1.75). This is based upon the experiences of Charles A. Lorber, senior pilot of the Pan American Airways, who piloted an exploring party on the Matto Grosso Expedition into the Amazon Basin. The story begins with the take-off at Rio de Janeiro and ends with the landing at Miami, Florida.

One of the best novels dealing with Paraguay is that by Katharina von Dombrowski entitled *Land of Women* (Little, Brown, and Co., Boston, 1935, pp. 416, \$2.50). This is a translation from the German by the author and describes that brilliant epic in Paraguayan history in the 1860's when Francisco Solano López controlled the destinies of the country, destroyed its man power, and left a large majority of children and women in the population at the end of the Paraguayan War. The description is vivid, the characters are excellently portrayed, and the essential facts are historical.

Bolivia is used as the setting for Alan Hillgarth's *The Black Mountain* (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1934, pp. 379, \$2.50), which tells of the adventures of an Indian boy, the Bolivian "Kim", who grew up in poverty. But when he was adopted by a native priest and educated in the ways of the white man, he espoused the cause of bettering the oppressed Indians of the country. Eventually, after reaching a high political office, he returned to his people, somewhat disillusioned but happy. The book presents a good panorama of Bolivian life at various social levels.

Another novel of rubber-gatherers, but with the setting in Colombia, is *The Vortex* (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1935, pp. 320, \$2.50), which is translated from the Spanish of José Eustasio Rivera. The book has already had a wide sale in South America, and its appearance in English is welcome. The author had many of the experiences of his hero, Arturo Cova, while many of the other characters are based upon real personages. Beginning with life in the cattle country, the scene shifts to the great vortex of the jungle, from which many men never return. The description is vivid and often revolting, and life in the raw, as lived in the rubber camps and elsewhere, is interestingly depicted.

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ADDITIONAL NOTES

In August, 1935, the University of Minnesota Press published *Dictatorship in the Modern World* (pp. 179), edited by Professor Guy Stanton Ford. Because of the persistence of dictatorship in Hispanic America and the rise of dictators in other parts of the world, this volume is very timely. The first essay, written by Professor Max Lerner, is entitled "The Pattern of Dictatorship"; the second essay, by Professor Ralph Haswell Lute, deals with "European Dictatorships"; the third, by Professor J. Fred Rippy, is entitled "Dictatorships in Spanish America"; the fourth essay, by Professor Henry R. Spencer, is called "The Mussolini Régime"; the fifth is by Harold C. Deutsch and is on "The Origins of Dictatorship in Germany"; the sixth essay, by Professor Hans Kohn, deals with the "Communist and Fascist Dictatorship: A Comparative Study"; while the seventh essay, by Professor Denis W. Brogan, treats of "The Prospects for Democracy". The essay of most interest to students of Hispanic American affairs is that by Professor Rippy. His résumé is brief and pointed. The reasons for dictatorships in Spanish America are given, the psychosis of dictators is exposed, and the life histories of a number of dictators are treated. This essay serves to show that Spanish American dictators have failed to receive the proper treatment at the hands of historians and that there is a need for a general investigation of the whole subject.—A. C. W.

Because the environment plays and has played so prominent a part in conditioning the people of Hispanic America, any book which interprets and describes that environment should be of interest to the student of Hispanic American affairs. Such a work is *The Geographic Pattern of Mankind* by John E. Pomfret (D. Appleton-Century Company, New York, 1935, xvi, pp. 442). Chapter XI of this book is entitled "South America: The Geography of a Continent", and Chapter XII is "Caribbean Lands and Mexico: Trade Wind Lands". Together, these chapters cover seventy-six pages. The author is primarily a European historian, but he understands his geography sufficiently well to be classed, perhaps, as a human geographer. But

therein lies the weakness of the presentation—the author is not sufficiently acquainted with the historical facts of Hispanic America to balance them properly against geographical factors. Nevertheless, the book may be recommended to graduate students of Hispanic American history, chiefly as a basis of discussion. The maps are unique and excellent.—A. C. W.

Miss Winfred Elizabeth Hulbert's latest work is entitled *Latin American Backgrounds* (Friendship Press, New York, 1935, xiv, pp. 209). The author, after finishing her education at Western Reserve and Columbia Universities, taught at the Constantinople College for Women. Later, she served as a canteen worker in the Y. M. C. A. in France during the world war. For several years she has been engaged in social and religious work and has served as a camp-fire executive in Ohio. In between, she has traveled and has written a number of books and articles. In 1929, she spent several months in the Caribbean and as a result wrote *West Indian Treasures* (Friendship Press, 1930). Later, she wrote *Indian Americans* (Friendship Press, 1932). In the present volume, Miss Hulbert tries to show that Hispanic America is being swept by the machine age into "some of the world's most tragic problems of human welfare". Her book is an attempt to sketch historical, geographical, and social backgrounds and to show how these are related to modern trends. Her work is based chiefly on readings and observations. Unfortunately, her bibliography is extremely sketchy and her work occasionally gives evidence of a lack of familiarity with certain important facts and with many valuable works dealing with the subject. Although the whole sweep of Hispanic American history is covered, the emphasis is on social and religious conditions. Such a book is better suited for study groups than for college students.—A. C. W.

For ministers of the Gospel seeking suggestions for sermons, John A. Mackay's *That Other America* (Friendship Press, New York, 1935, pp. x, 214) is recommended. Dr. Mackay will be remembered as the author of *The Other Spanish Christ* (Macmillan, 1933). For the past four years Dr. Mackay has been secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, with special responsibility for the work carried on in Hispanic America. Since 1916, when the author first went to South America, he has been

increasingly interested in Hispanic American problems and especially in religious and social affairs. In this book he has tried to "interpret the undertones, the basic melody" of Hispanic American spiritual existence. The treatment is a comparative one, with contrasts between Anglo-American and Hispanic American civilizations. For some readers the book may be too philosophical, while to others, it may not seem quite pertinent. But it is thought-provoking and full of sermons.—A. C. W.

The Academia de la Historia de Cuba has published through the Imprenta "El Siglo XX", A. Muñiz Hnos. a volume entitled *Discursos leídos en la Recepción pública del Dr. José Manuel Pérez Cabrera la Noche del 6 de Febrero de 1936*. The address by Sr. Pérez Cabrera is entitled "La Conspiración de 1824 y el Pronunciamiento del Alférez de Dragones Gaspar Antonio Rodríguez. As printed this has a number of justifying documents. A reply to this address was made by Dr. Tomás de Jústiz y del Valle.

The first number of the second series of "Cuadernos de Cultura", published by the Secretaría de Educación, Dirección de Cultura, is *Hombres de Cuba*, by José Martí (Habana, 1936, pp. 144). Short sketches are given of 27 men of Cuba. The fourth number in this series is *Prédicas de Libertad*, by José María Heredia (La Habana, 1936, pp. 105). The fifth number is *De la Factoría a la Colonia*, by Francisco de Arango y Parreño (1936, pp. 168). This pamphlet is divided into the following chapters: Instrucción que formó D. Francisco de Arango cuando se entregó de los poderes de la Habana y papeles del asunto; Discurso sobre la agricultura de la Habana y medios de fomentarla; Abolición de la Factoría: Libertad en la siembra, fabricación y comercio del tabaco; Resumen de mis ideas; Axiomas económico-políticos relativos al comercio colonial, presentados al Consejo de Indias en 1816; Resumen de méritos y servicios.

From Havana comes a small publication of the Consejo Nacional de Veteranos de la Independencia de Cuba which consists of *Discursos pronunciados en la Inauguración del Monumento de Máximo Gómez en la Habana, el 18 de Noviembre de 1935*. The pamphlet has as its main title *Máximo Gómez* (1936, pp. 51). Addresses were given on this occasion by Colonel Gustavo Pérez Abreu, Sr. Miguel Angel Car-

bonell, Sr. Roberto Despradel, Minister from the Dominican Republic to Cuba, and Colonel Cosme de la Torriente. A short explanatory note relative to the symbolism of the monument by Sr. Honorato Colete, the chief architect in the erection of the manument, precedes the addresses.

The inaugural address at the opening of the twenty-sixth international congress of Americanists held at Seville in 1935, delivered by Sr. G. Marañón, professor in the University of Madrid, has appeared in printed form. This is entitled *España y la Historia de América* (Tipografía de Manuel Carmona, pp. 15).

In 1932, the Press of the Catholic University of America published, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, a dissertation by John J. Meng, now of the political science department of the abovenamed university, entitled *The Comte de Vergennes. European Phases of his American Diplomacy (1774-1780)* (Washington, pp. 129). This contains three chapters, as follows: The Comte de Vergennes: Diplomat and Foreign Minister; Franco-Spanish Coöperation; and The Neutral League; English Isolation. Chapter II is of interest to students of the American Revolution, and especially of Spanish participation therein. The volume is well written and Dr. Meng's authorities, both manuscript and printed, have been well used. The bibliography is excellent.

The contribution by Professor Juan Manzano to the *Colección de Estudios históricos, jurídicos, pedagógicos y literarios (Homenaje a D. Rafael Altamira)* has appeared in reprint form (Madrid, 1936). The same author has recently published *El nuevo Código de las Leyes de Indias (Proyecto de Juan Crisóstomo de Ansótegui)* (Madrid, 1936)—which is a reprint from *Revista de Ciencias Jurídicas y Sociales* (Año VIII, núms. 73 and 74). It bears the imprint "Tipografía de Archivos, Olózaga, 1."

The Harvard University Press at Cambridge, Massachusetts has just published (1936) a very interesting volume entitled *Ibsen and Spain: A Study in Comparative Drama*, by Halfdan Gregersen (pp. xiv, 209, \$2.50). A short preface by Dr. J. M. D. Ford emphasizes the fact that "Spanish aloofness in respect to things of the outside

world is more or less a myth". Dr. Gregersen attempts to show, as his preface points out, how Ibsen's "theater was introduced to Spain, the manner in which it was received there, and what impression it has made upon the Spanish dramatic genius". The volume is of value for the history of the theater and is largely an inquiry into new fields. There is an appendix of "Castilian and Catalan translations of Ibsen's Plays"; and a "Bibliography" containing two sections as follows: Ibsen—his theater and its diffusion; and The modern Spanish theater. It is interesting to note that Dr. Gregersen finds that Galdos was more influenced by the great Norwegian playwright than was Echegaray. The volume is one of the series of "Harvard Studies in Romance Languages".

The writings relative to America of the Rev. Constantino Bayle, S. J., whose *España y la Educación popular en América* is reviewed in this issue of THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, includes the following:

"Colección de Grandezas Españoles" (Madrid, Editorial "Razón y Fé" various volumes, as follows:

II. Magallanes, 1921, pp. 96.

X. Vasco Núñez de Balboa, 1923, pp. 110.

XIII. Alonso de Hojeda, 1925, pp. 142.

XV. Hernando de Soto, 1927, pp. 160.

XVI. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, 1928, pp. 156.

El Descubrimiento del Estrecho de Magallanes, en conmemoración del IV Centenario (Madrid, 1920, pp. 900).

This work was written in collaboration with Pablo Pastells, S. J. The volume includes an abundant collection of documents drawn from the Archives of the Indies.

Historia peregrina de un Inga andaluz (Madrid, 1926), pp. 96.

The adventures of Pedro Bohorques, who pretended descent from the Incas and raised the standard of rebellion among the Calchaquis.

Nociones de Geografía e Historia de América. Madrid, 1928. Pp. 240.

A school text covering the general aspects of American history and geography. Santa María en Indias. Devoción a Nuestra Señora de los descubridores, conquistadores y pobladores de América. Madrid, 1928. Pp. 370.

The study reveals the particular devotion held by the discoverers and conquerers of America to the Blessed Virgin.

El Dorado Fantasma. Prologue by Dr. José Joaquín Casas, Minister of Colombia in Spain. Madrid, 1931. Pp. 488.

A detailed account of the legendary El Dorado and of the expeditions that were organized and carried out for the discovery of this mythical land.

Historia de los descubrimientos y colonización de los PP. de la Compañía de Jesús en la Baja California. Madrid, 1933. Pp. 332.

Based on unpublished sources, this book examines the work of the Jesuits in Lower California. There is an appendix listing the documents used both in the Archivo de Indias and in private archives.

España en Indias, Nuevos ataques y nuevas defensas. Madrid 1934. Pp. 452.

This work is a more detailed account included as a chapter in the *España en Indias*. The bibliography contained in the book is particularly rich.

RICHARD PATTEE

The University of California Press, Berkeley, is bringing out an important series, of which eleven numbers have already appeared. The series is being issued under the general title of "Ibero-America", and is being edited by Herbert E. Bolton, A. L. Kroeber, and C. O. Sauer, all of the University of California. The announcement states that the series

is to form a collection of studies in Latin American cultures, native and transplanted, pre-European, colonial, and modern. Physical and racial backgrounds have a place in the collection, but it is anticipated that the studies will be in the main contributions to culture history.

The eleven numbers already published are as follows:

1. Aztatlán: Prehistoric Mexican Frontier on the Pacific Coast. By Carl Sauer and Donald Brand. 1932. Pp. 65, 14 plates. \$2.00.
2. The comparative Ethnology of northern Mexico before 1750. By Ralph L. Beals. 1932. Pp. 225. Bibliography. 28 maps. \$1.35.
3. The Road to Cibola. By Carl Sauer. 1932. Pp. 58. Map. 75 cents.
4. A Spanish-Mexican Peasant Community: Arandas in Jalisco, Mexico. By Paul S. Taylor. 1933. Pp. 94. Illus. \$1.50.
5. The Distribution of aboriginal Tribes and Languages in Northwestern Mexico. By Carl Sauer. 1934. Pp. 94. Bibliography. Map.
6. The Acaxee: A Mountain Tribe of Durango and Sinoloa. By Ralph L. Beals. Pp. 36. 35 cents.
7. Studies in the Administration of the Indians in New Spain. I. The Laws of Burgos of 1512. II. The Civil Congregation. By Lesley Byrd Simpson. 1934. Pp. 129. Map.
8. Uto-Aztecan Languages of Mexico. By A. L. Kroeber. 1934. Pp. 26. Map.
9. An Historical Legend of the Zapotecs. By Paul Radin. 1935. Pp. 29.
10. Aboriginal Population of Northwestern Mexico. By Carl Sauer. Pp. 33. Map.
11. New archaeological Sites from the State of Falcón, Venezuela. By Gladys Ayer Nomland. 1935. Pp. 82. Plates. Bibliography.

This series is filling a need. It is hoped that publication will continue. Taken as a whole, it is a capital illustration of the inter-relationship of History, Archaeology, and the Anthropological studies.

Rafael Heliodoro Valle, of Mexico, is the author of an excellent contribution to *Cortesiana* in his *Para la Biografía de Hernán Cortes* (Santiago de Chile, Imp. Universitaria, 1935, pp. 31). This is a reprint from *Homenaje a Don Domingo Amunátegui Solar*, which was brought out under the auspices of the University of Chile. This consists of notes and extracts from Sahagún, Bernal Díaz, López de Gómara, and other authors, which place in convenient form various facts relative to the dramatic life of the great Spaniard. It is recommended to all who are interested in Cortés.

The *Boletín de la Academia Panameña de la Historia* for October, 1935, has an interesting article on "El Convento de los Agostinos Recoletos en Panamá la Vieja", by Samuel Lewis. It has also an article by Salvador Calderón Ramírez entitled "Bonete de Oro y los Bucaneros". The *Boletín* also has a list of those to whom it is sent.

A new popular review has recently been inaugurated by the National University of Mexico. This is called *Universidad—Mensual de Cultura Popular* and the first number appeared in February of this year. Apparently, the main purpose of the publication is to bring the university to the people. The first number is introduced by Abogado Luis Chico Goerne, the rector of the university. Other items are *El Perjuicio racial*, by Isaac Ochoterena, director of the Institute of Biology; *El Espectro del Marxismo criollo*, by Alfonso Teja Zabre, professor in the faculty of law; *Karl Marx*, by Harold J. Laski, professor in the school of economics and political science in London; *Gloria Mundi*, by Julio Torri, professor of literature in the University of Mexico; *Importancia de los Estudios solares*, by Ing. Joaquín Gallo, director of the observatory in the university of Mexico; *Primeras Máquinas en México*, by Rafael Heliodoro Valle; *El Diabolismo de Valle Inclán*, by Alfredo Maillefert, professor in the university; *Revolución del Concepto de Delito patrimonial*, by Francisco González de la Vega, a well known penologist; *Las Revoluciones Ibero-Americanas*, by B. Sanín Cano; *Calendario para Febrero de Fiestas Folkloricas en la República*; and *Calendario Universitario, año de 1936*. The *Départamento de Acción social* consists of various pictures

of persons and objects. The issue for March opens with *La Crisis del Liberalismo y la Misión de la Universidad*, by Abogado Salvador Azuela, chief of the Departamento de Acción social. Other items are: *Las Teorias de Calicles y Trasimaco sobre el Derecho del más fuerte*, by Eduardo García Maynez, of the philosophical faculty of the university; *Carta a un Escritor de México*, by the well-known Genaro Estrada; *El Problema social, Número Uno: Población y Despoblación de México*, by Mario Mariscal; *Socialismo constitucional—Tierra, Trabajo, Educación*, by Hilario Medina; *Educación de los Sentidos*, by Manuel Moreno Sánchez, of the faculty of law and social sciences; *Danza*, by José Vasconcelos; *La Arquitectura contemporánea*, by Federico Mariscal; *Manuel M. Ponce, entrevista de Rafael Heliodoro Valle*; *El Espectro de Gotham*, by Genaro Fernández MacGregor; *El Destino del Hombre en busca de una Espiritualidad nueva*, by Nicolas Bardiaieff; and other translations.

"Panorama: A Record of Inter-American cultural Events" is published in mimeograph form by the Division of Intellectual Cooperation of the Pan American Union. The number for April, 1936, is the fourth. This contains the following: Latin America in bright pages for the very Young; Alfonso Reyes, Exponent of the Genius of Mexico; Alberto Nin Frías writes a classic on Trees; Martí, the last Liberator, a lecture by Jorge Mañach; Contemporary Mexican Painting; Two new members of the Brazilian Academy of Letters; Educational Broadside; International Friendship in the School; Brazilian Women in Public Life; and several other items.

It has been announced that the review *Nosotros* of Buenos Aires, was to reappear in April, of this year. It was discontinued about two years ago for financial reasons. Its reappearance will be welcomed by all students of Hispanic America.

Professor Richard Pattee has an excellent article in the November issue of *Puerto Rico* (Año I. No. 8) entitled "En Torno a Manoel de Oliveira Lima". In the same issue appears a review of two books by Concha Meléndez, entitled "Libros a la Vista". The two books reviewed are *Mariana de Jesús*, by Augusto Arias; and *Camino de las Horas*, by Pedro Prado (Santiago de Chile, 1934). This excellent monthly review is published at San Juan, Puerto Rico, under the

directorship of Juan B. Soto. Its editorial staff consists of Professor Antonio S. Pedreira, Professor Conchita Meléndez, Professor Julio B. Ortiz, Professor C. Rosario, all of the University of Puerto Rico, and Professor José A. Balseiro, of the University of Illinois, visiting professor at the University of Puerto Rico. The sub director and business administrator is Juan F. Soto, and its secretary, M. Rivera de la Vega. The annual subscription is \$6.00.

Revista Cubana for April-May-June, 1935, has, among other articles the following: El Padre José Agustín Caballero, by Francisco G. del Valle; Crítica de la Historia de Cuba, de Urrutia, by José Agustín Caballero; Bibliografía de José Agustín Caballero y Rodríguez, by E. Roig de Leuchsenring and F. González del Valle; La personalidad de la literatura hispanoamericana, by Raimundo Lazo; Los Poetas cubanos de los Siglos XVII y XVIII agrupados por regiones, by Carlos M. Trelles; and Expediente de José Martí—Solicitud para ejercer de abogado. The issue for July, 1935 (Vol. III, No. 7) presents: Raiz y Trayectoria Griegas en Occidente, by Manuel Bisbé; Misión de Vicuña Mackenna, by Emeterio S. Santovenia; La Independencia de Cuba y Puerto Rico, by Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna; Observaciones sobre algunos Aspectos de la segunda Enseñanza, by Medardo Vitier. The issue for August-September has: Carta de New York, by José Martí; La Educación del Carácter en Cuba, by Diego González; La Independencia de Cuba y Puerto Rico, by Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna. In October-November-December are the following: El Padre Varela y la Independencia de la América Hispana, by Francisco G. del Valle; José Antonio Cortina y Sotolongo, by Manuel I. Mesa Rodríguez; El Mago del Siglo Veinte, by M. Gutiérrez Lanza, S. J. The issue for January-February, 1936, publishes among other articles: El momento musical latinoamericano, by Alejo Carpentier; El Ideario político de Varela, by Enrique Guy Calbó; Aspectos en la Figura de Martí, by Medardo Vitier; Centenario de Andrés Bello, by José Martí; Narciso López en un romance americano, by Manuel Marsal; Vida universitaria de Ignacio Agramonte, by Edilberto Marbán.

Revista Javeriana, which is issued in Bogotá, publishes under the title "Orientaciones" various articles of an ecclesiastical character, written by eminent members of the Jesuit order. Articles are published in the issues for March and April by Félix Restrepo, S. J.

In the issue for May, the article under this title is by Uldarico Urrutia, S. J., and is called "El Papa de los Concordatos". In the March, 1936, issue Gabriel Giraldo Z., S. J., has a section entitled "Boletín de Historia"; and a writer calling himself "El Corresponsal", has a "Crónica de Méjico. In the same issue, L. Uribe U. reviews the book *Plantas útiles de Colombia*, by Enrique Pérez Arbeláez. In the April issue, Emilio Romanet has a section entitled "Boletín de Economía política"; and El Corresponsal, a "Crónica de Ecuador. In the issue for May, 1936, the "Boletín de Historia" is by Francisco José González. The bibliographical features of this review are excellent.

La Literatura Argentina, a bibliographical review published in Buenos Aires, under its founder and director Lorenzo J. Rosso, is a capital little summary of books and authors in Argentina. Each issue has portraits of many eminent authors, an account of one special author whose portrait appears on the front cover, and much useful bibliographical information. The issue for January, 1936, has a list of the works published in 1935. The office is at Doblas 951, Buenos Aires, and the annual subscription is \$1.00 gold.

ADDITIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE DICTATORSHIP OF PRIMO DE RIVERA

In THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XI. (1931) 551-554, I published a "Bibliographical list relative to the Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera", which I now supplement by the addition of works which were unknown to me at that time or which have appeared since then. As before, I do not include articles which appeared or have appeared in newspapers or magazines, and I have limited the scope of the bibliography to the years 1921-1930, that is, from the defeat of the Spanish army at Annual to the death of Primo de Rivera. The works are arranged alphabetically by authors, except in the few instances in which no author is given, in which case the title of the work is listed under the letter with which it begins.

Alcalá-Galiano, Alvaro: *La caída de un trono* (1931). Madrid, 1933.

Arboleya Martínex, M.: *Sermón perdido*. Los Católicos de acción bajo la dictadura española. Madrid, 1930.

Benzo, Eduardo: *Al servicio del Ejército*. Tres ensayos sobre el problema militar en España. Madrid, 1931.

Bertini, Giovanni Maria: *La rivoluzione spagnuola*. Milano, 1933.

Brandt, Joseph A.: *Toward the new Spain*. Chicago, 1932.

Burgos y Mazo, Manuel de: *La Dictadura y los constitucionalistas*. 2 vols. Madrid, 1934.

Cabanelas, Guillermo: *Militarismo, militaradas*. Acotaciones de la historia político-militar de España. Madrid, 1933.

Calvo Sotelo, José: *En defensa propia*. Madrid, 1932.

Capella, Jacinto: *La verdad de Primo de Rivera*. Intimidades y anécdotas del Dictador. Madrid, 1933.

Carretero, José María (pseud.: El Caballero audaz): *Entre la Dictadura y la Anarquía*. Opiniones de un hombre de la calle. Madrid, 1932.

Casa Ramos, Marqués de; and Moraleda, Conde de la: *Dos años de Directorio militar*. Madrid, 1926 (?).

Ciges Aparicio, M.: *España bajo la dinastía de los Borbones, 1701-1931*. Madrid, 1932.

Castro, Cristóbal de; Pérez, Dionisio; San José, Diego; Répide, Pedro de; Oteyza, Luis de: *Tempestad sobre un trono*. Madrid, 1931.

Cortés Cavanillas, Julián: *La caída de Alfonso XIII*. Causas y episodios de una revolución. Madrid, 1933.

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- La Dictadura y el Dictador. Madrid, 1933.
- Cruzado, Clemente: La España política de 1930. Madrid, 1931.
- Cueto, Juan: Cuentos al Nuncio. Sobre derivaciones republicanas de los sucesos de Vera. Madrid, 1933.
- Díaz, El: España bajo el nuevo régimen. Madrid, 1928 (?).
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- El pensamiento de Primo de Rivera. Sus notas, artículos y discursos. Prólogo de D. José María Pemán. Madrid, 1929.
- Estelrich, Juan: De la Dictadura a la República. Barcelona, 1931.
- Falcón, César: Crítica de la revolución española, desde la Dictadura hasta las Constituyentes. Madrid, 1931.
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- García Gallego, J.: Necesidad de Cortes Constituyentes. Replicando a "La Epoca", al "ABC" y a significados hombres públicos de los partidos monárquicos. Valladolid, 1930.
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- Guixé, Juan: Libertad, dictadura y fascismo. Madrid, 1931.
- Hoyos y Vinent, Antonio: El Primer Estado. Actuación de la Aristocracia antes de la Revolución, en la Revolución y después de ella. Madrid, 1932.
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- Hernández Mir, Francisco: La dictadura ante la historia. Madrid, 1931.
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- Luis-André, Eloy: Ética española. Madrid, 1925.
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- (American edition: Coup d'état: The technique of Revolution. New York, 1932).
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- Maurín, Joaquín: *La Revolución española. De la Monarquía absoluta a la Revolución socialista.* Madrid, 1932.
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- *Tempestad, calma, intriga y crisis. Memorias de mi paso por la Dirección General de Seguridad.* Madrid, 1933.
- Muñoz García, José: *Responsabilidades. . . . Apreciaciones sobre política española contemporánea hasta los días de Berenguer.* Mexico, 1930.
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- Ortega y Gasset, Eduardo: *España encadenada.* Paris, 19—.
- *Nuestros deberes ante la reconstrucción de la legalidad en España. Memoria leída en la sección de Ciencias Morales y Políticas del Ateneo el 1 de junio de 1930.* Madrid, 1930.
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- Pi y Margall, Francisco; and Pi y Arsuaga, Francisco: *Las grandes conmociones políticas del siglo XIX en España. Del Absolutismo a la República de 1931. Apéndice por Joaquín Pi y Arsuaga.* Madrid, 1931.
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LIST OF GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS CONCERNING HISPANIC AMERICA

The items here listed have been taken from the January, February, and March, 1936 *Monthly Catalogue, United States Public Documents (with Prices)*, issued by the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. All items have been listed as they appear in the catalogue, including the Library of Congress card number whenever given.

ARGENTINA

1. *Argentina*. Corporation law of Argentina; by H. P. Crawford. Feb. 24, 1936. [1] + iv + 49 p. 4°. (General legal bulletin, foreign laws affecting American business, C. L. no. 572; G. L. 168, 169, 170; Commercial Laws Division.) [Processed. Three numbers of G. L.'series issued as one publication. Includes list of Foreign and Domestic Commerce Bureau publications relating to Argentina.] Paper, 5c.; subscription price, \$1.00 a yr.; foreign subscriiption, \$2.00. C 18.95:168-170
2. *Argentina* [foreign trade of Argentina in 1933 and 1934] latest reports from Argentine official sources. [1935.] [1] + 11 + [1] p. (Foreign trade series no. 141, 1935.) Paper, 5c.
L. C. card 13-7277 PA 1.19:141

BRAZIL

3. *Brazil*. Duplicata of Brazil; by H. P. Crawford. Mar. 13, 1936. [3] + 13 p. 4°. (General legal bulletin, foreign laws affecting American business, C. L. no. 574; G. L. 172; Commercial Laws Division.) [Processed.] Paper, 5c.; subscription price, \$1.00 a yr.; foreign subscription, \$2.00. C 18.95:172

CHILE

4. *Chile* [foreign trade of Chile for 1933 and 1934] latest reports from Chilean official sources. [1936.] [1] + 14 p. (Foreign trade series no. 142, 1935.) Paper, 5c.
L. C. card 20-15504 PA 1.19:142

CUBA

5. *Cuba*. The 1½ percent gross sales tax of Cuba; by H. P. Crawford. Washington, Jan. 1936. cover title, [4] + 20 p. 4°. ([General legal bulletin, foreign laws affecting American business, C. L. no. 570; G. L. 167; Commercial Laws Division.]) [Processed. Date on first page is given as Dec. 31, 1935.] Paper, 5c.; subscription price, \$1.00 a yr.; foreign subscription, \$2.00. C 18.95:167

6. *Guantanamo Bay*, south coast of Cuba, W. I., from United States naval surveys between 1899 and 1935; chart 1857. Scale naut. m. = 3 in., natural scale 1:24,320. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published Dec. 1921, 5th edition, Nov. 1935. 41.3 × 32 in. 50c. N 6.18:1857
7. *Santiago Harbor*, south coast of Cuba, W. I., from survey by U. S. S. Yankton in 1899; chart 1856. Scale 1,000 yds. = 3.7 in., natural scale 1:10,000. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published May 1900, 28th edition, November 1935. 42 × 30 in. 50c. N 6.18:1856

MEXICO

8. *Alvarez, Higinio*. Claim of Higinio Alvarez, Mexican citizen, with respect to lands on Farmers Banco in Arizona, report to accompany H. R. 11961 [authorizing appropriation for payment of claim of Higinio Alvarez, Mexican citizen, with respect to lands on Farmers Banco in Arizona, and for payment to executors of estate of R. E. Fishburn for interest in Farmers Banco assigned by General Alvarez to R. E. Fishburn]; submitted by Mr. Bloom. Mar. 24, 1936. 4 p. (H. rp. 2225, 74th Cong. 2d sess.) Paper, 5c.
9. *Guaymas, Mexico*. Bahia de Guaymas and approaches, Gulf of California, Mexico, compiled from various surveys between 1849 and 1930; with inset, Puerto San Carlos, from Mexican Govt. survey in 1856; chart 640. Scale naut. m. = 2.9 in., natural scale 1:25,000. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published May 1878, 31st edition, Dec. 1935, corrected through Notice to mariners 1, Jan. 1, 1936. 38.7 × 31.8 in. 60c. N 6.18:640
10. *Special Mexican Claims Commission*, report [and supplemental report] to accompany H. R. 10670 [to amend sec. 11 of Public law numbered 30, approved Apr. 10, 1935, to establish commission for settlement of special claims comprehended within terms of convention between United States of America and United Mexican States concluded Apr. 24, 1934, so as to increase amount of appropriation authorized for work of commission]; submitted by Mr. McReynolds. [2 pts.] (H. rp. 1989, 2 pts., 74th Cong. 2d sess.)
 [pt. 1] Report. Feb. 11, 1936. 2 p. Paper, 5c.
 pt. 2. Supplemental report. Feb. 13, 1936. 2 p. Paper, 5c.
11. *Time*. Standard time zones of United States and adjacent parts of Canada and Mexico, as of Oct. 1, 1935; boundaries drawn by R. E. Gould and checked by Interstate Commerce Commission. Scale 1:7,000,000, scale 100 m. = 0.9 in. [Washington, Geological Survey, 1935.] 17.5 × 28.3 in. (Miscellaneous publication 155.) [Base map by Geological Survey. Information by Interstate Commerce Commission, Hydrographic Office of Navy Department, and Dominion Observatory of Canada.] 10c.
 L. C. card Map 36-1 C 13.10:155

PANAMA CANAL

12. *Panama Canal*. Measurement of vessels using Panama Canal [for collection of tolls], report to accompany S. 2288; submitted by Mr. Gore. 1936. iii + 11 p. (S. rp. 1565, 74th Cong. 2d sess.) Paper, 5c.

13. *Panama Canal record*, v. 29, no. 6; Jan. 15, 1936. Balboa Heights, C. Z.
[1936] p. 81-100. [Monthly.]
L. C. card 7-35328 W 79.5:29
14. ———, v. 29, no. 7; Feb. 15, 1936. Balboa Heights, C. Z. [1936.]
p. 101-120. [Monthly.]
L. C. card 7-35328 W 79.5:29/7
15. ———, v. 29, no. 8; Mar. 15, 1936. Balboa Heights, C. Z. [1936.] p. 121-
136. [Monthly.]
L. C. card 7-35328 W 79.5:29/8
16. *Report*. Annual report of governor of the Panama Canal, fiscal year 1935.
1935.
ix + 165 p. 1 pl. Paper, 15c.
L. C. card 15-26761 W 79.1:935
17. *Telephone directory*. The Panama Canal, telephone directory, Jan. 1, 1936.
Panama Canal Press, Mount Hope, C. Z., 1936. cover title, 236 p. il.
Paper, 40c., Chief of Office, The Panama Canal, Washington, D. C.
W 79.2:T 23/5/935
18. *Tide, moon, and sunrise tables*, Balboa (Panama), Cristobal (Colon), [calen-
dar year] 1936. Panama Canal Press, Mount Hope, C. Z., 1935. 31 p.
24°. [For official use only. From Tide tables, 1936, issued by Coast and
Geodetic Survey.] W 79.2:T 43/13
19. *Traffic*. Highway, vehicle, and vehicular traffic laws and regulations, in effect
on Jan. 1, 1936. Panama Canal Press, Mount Hope, C. Z., 1935. iii + 67
p. il. 24°. Paper, 10c., The Panama Canal, Balboa Heights, C. Z.
L. C. card 36-26075 W 79.2:H 53/3/936
20. ——— Same, Spanish. Imprenta de Canal de Panamá, Mount Hope, Z.
del C., 1935. iii + 78 p. il. 24°. W 79.2:H 53/3/936/Spanish

PERU

21. *Petroleum*. O que é hoje o petroleo no Perú; [pelo Ricardo A. Deustua].
[1936.] ii + 14 p. il. (Serie de finanças, industria, commercio no. 51,
dezembro de 1935.) [Do Boletim da União Panamericana, dezembro
1935.] Paper, 5c.; subscription price for 12 issues of series, 50c.
PA 1.14:p 51

PUERTO RICO

22. *Post route maps*. Post route maps of—Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands. Scale
5 m. = 1 in. 60c.
23. *Puerto Rico*. Amend. sec. 40 of act which provides civil government for
Puerto Rico [so as to increase number of justices for Supreme Court of
Puerto Rico], report to accompany H. R. 10312; submitted by Mr. Cart-
wright. Mar. 26, 1936. 3 p. (H. rp. 2245, 74th Cong. 2d sess.)
Paper, 5c.
24. ——— Ports of Puerto Rico. Revised 1935. 1935. x + 130 p. il. 4 pl.
8 p. of pl. 5 maps. (Port series 21.) Paper, 25c.
L. C. card 36-26068 W 7.21:21/2

25. *Report*. Annual report of chief of Bureau of Insular Affairs, [fiscal year] 1935. 1935. [1] + 26 p. Paper, 5c. W 61:935
26. ——— 35th annual report of governor of Puerto Rico, Blanton Winship, [fiscal year] 1935. [San Juan, P. R., Bureau of Supplies, Printing, and Transportation, 1935.] 198 p. il. 3 maps, 3 tab. I 35.12/1:935
L. C. card 6-35095
27. *San Juan Harbor, P. R.*, surveys to 1921, surveys by U. S. Engineers to 1935; chart 908. Scale 1:10,000. Washington, Coast and Geodetic Survey, Oct. 1935. 32.6 × 38.7 in. 75c. C 4.9:908
28. *Sugar*. Allotment of quota for Puerto Rico, order made by Secretary of Agriculture under agricultural adjustment act. Mar. 14, 1936. 3 p. (Puerto Rico sugar order 4.) A 55.18:4

CENTRAL AMERICA

29. *Central America*. Supplement to Hydrographic Office publication 130, Central America and Mexico pilot (east coast), corrections and additions from Notices to mariners and other sources from date of publication (Aug. 13, 1927) to Jan. 1, 1936. 1936. [1] + 21 leaves. N 6.8:130/927-10
30. *Pilot charts*. Pilot chart of Central American waters, Feb. 1936; chart 3500. Scale 1° long. = 0.7 in. Washington, Hydrographic Office, Jan. 16, 1936. 23.3 × 35.1 in. [Monthly. Certain portions of the data are furnished by the Weather Bureau.] 10c. N 6.24:936/2
- Note.—Contains on reverse: Aneroid barometers and their readings on ship-board; by Willis Edwin Hurd and W. F. McDonald.—Earthquake seamanship.
31. ——— Pilot chart of Central American waters, Mar. 1936; chart 3500. Scale 1° long. = 0.7 in. Washington, Hydrographic Office, Feb. 13, 1936. 23.3 × 35.1 in. [Monthly. Certain portions of the data are furnished by the Weather Bureau.] 10c. N 6.24:936/3
- Note.—Contains on reverse: Line-squalls; by R. Hanson Weightman.
32. ——— Pilot chart of Central American waters, Apr. 1936; chart 3500. Scale 1° long. = 0.7 in. Washington, Hydrographic Office, Mar. 18, 1936. 23.3 × 35.1 in. [Monthly. Certain portions of the data are furnished by the Weather Bureau.] 10c. N 6.24:936/4
- Note.—Contains on reverse: North Atlantic lane routes revised by north Atlantic track agreement, Mar. 1931.

WEST INDIES

33. *West Indies*. Supplement to Hydrographic Office publication 129, West Indies pilot, v. 2, corrections and additions from Notices to mariners and other sources from date of publication (Feb. 9, 1929) to Jan. 1, 1936. 1936. [1] + 29 leaves. N 6.8:129/929-8

NORTH AMERICA

34. *Birds*. Migration of North American birds [with bibliography]; by Frederick C. Lincoln. Oct. 1935. cover title, 72 p. il. (Agriculture Dept. Circular 363.) [Supersedes Department bulletin 185, Bird migration, by Wells W. Cooke, published in 1915.] Paper, 10c. L. C. card Agr 36-14 A 1.4/2:363

35. *Geology*. Bibliography of North American geology, 1933 and 1934; by Emma M. Thom. 1935. ii + 389 p. (Bulletin 869.) Paper, 40c.
L. C. card GS 9-427 I 19.3:869

SOUTH AMERICA

36. *South America*. Sailing directions for South America: v. 1, East coast, from Orinoco River to Rio de la Plata. 4th edition, [corrected to Sept. 26] 1935. 1935. [3] leaves + x + 464 p. il. 2 maps. ([Publication] 172.) [Page of text pasted on inside of front cover. The 3 leaves given in the collation consist of request coupons which are detachable. Title of 3d edition read: South America pilot: v. 1, East coast, from Orinoco River to Plata River.] Cloth, \$1.80.
L. C. card 36-26057 N 6.8:172/935
37. ——— Supplement to Hydrographic Office publication 173, South America pilot, v. 2, corrections and additions from Notices to mariners and other sources from date of publication (Nov. 16, 1929) to Jan. 1, 1936. 1936. [1] + 32 leaves. N 6.8:173/929-7
38. ——— Supplement to Hydrographic Office publication 174, South America pilot, v. 3, corrections and additions from Notices to mariners and other sources from date of publication (Sept. 15, 1928) to Jan. 1, 1936. 1936. [1] + 42 leaves. N 6.8:174/928-8

HISPANIC AMERICA

39. *Finance*. Latin American financial notes, no. 187 and 188, Jan. 14 and 29, 1936; prepared semi-monthly by Finance Division. [1936.] 25 leaves and 18 leaves, 4°. [Processed.] Paper, \$1.00 a yr. C 18.107:187, 188
40. *Latin America*. A glance at Latin American civilization; by Francisco J. Yánes. [Revised edition.] [1936.] ii + 11 + [1] p. (History series No. 7.) Paper, 5c. PA 1.38:e 7/2
41. *Pilea*. New species of *Pilea* from the Andes; by Ellsworth P. Killip. 1936. viii + 367-394 p. (Contributions from national herbarium, v. 26, pt. 8.) Paper, 10c.
L. C. card Agr 36-73 SI 3.8:26/8
42. *Routes*. U. S. foreign air mail routes, Jan. 1, 1936 [map showing routes in North and South America]; with inset, Trans-Pacific route. 1935. 22.7 × 17.2 in. P 20.7:F 76/936
43. *Time zone* chart of the world; chart 5192. Scale 1° long. = 0.1 in. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published May 1920, 9th edition, Nov. 1935, corrected through Notice to mariners 1, Jan. 1, 1936. 27.1 × 47.9 in. 50c. N 6.18:5192

UNITED STATES AND HISPANIC AMERICA

44. *International American Conference*. Steps taken by Pan American Union in fulfillment of conventions and resolutions adopted at 7th International Conference of American States, Montevideo, Dec. 3-26, 1933, report submitted to members of Governing Board by director general, Jan. 31, 1936. Pan American Union, Washington, D. C. [1936.] [1] + 2 + 30 p. 4° (Congress and conference series no. 20.) [Processed.] Paper, 5c.

PA 1.37:e 20

45. *Military mission*, supplementary agreements between United States and Brazil, effected by exchanges of notes; signed June 20 and Oct. 29, 1935, and Nov. 9 and Dec. 16 and 19, 1935. 1936. [3] + 10 p. (Executive agreement series 84 and 85; [Publication 839].) [English and Portuguese, excepting 2 notes from Secretary of State (Hull) to Brazilian Ambassador (Aranha), which are in English only.] Paper, 5c.

L. C. card 36-26142

S 9.8:84, 85

Note.—The present numbers in the Executive agreement series may be filed in the Treaty series after Treaty series 901.

46. *Reciprocal trade*, agreement and supplementary agreement between United States and Brazil, agreement signed Washington, Feb. 2, 1935, supplementary agreement signed Rio de Janeiro, Apr. 17, 1935, effective Jan. 1, 1936; and exchange of notes. 1936. [2] + 36 p. (Executive agreement series 82; [Publication 822].) [English and Portuguese, excepting notes from Embassy of United States at Rio de Janeiro and from Secretary of State (Hull) to Brazilian Ambassador (Aranha), which are in English only.] Paper, 5c.

L. C. card 35-26998

S 9.8:82

Note.—The present number in the Executive agreement series may be filed in the Treaty series after Treaty series 902.

47. *Rio Grande*. Rio Grande canalization project, report to accompany H. R. 11768 [authorizing construction, operation, and maintenance of Rio Grande canalization project by Secretary of State, acting through American section, International Boundary Commission, United States and Mexico, and authorizing appropriation for that purpose]; submitted by Mr. Shanley. Mar. 26, 1936. 6 p. (H. rp. 2239, 74th Cong. 2d sess.) Paper, 5c.

L. C. card 36-26229.

48. ——— To amend sec. 4 of Public act 286, approved Aug. 19, 1935 [to amend act providing for study regarding equitable use of waters of Rio Grande, and so forth, as amended], report to accompany H. R. 10321; submitted by Mr. McReynolds. Mar. 4, 1936. 2 p. (H. rp. 2128, 74th Cong. 2d sess.) Paper, 5c.

49. *Steamboats*. Schedule of steamships carrying mails from United States and United States mails from Habana, Cuba, to foreign countries, also to Territory of Hawaii and to possessions of United States, Feb. 1936. [Jan. 21, 1936.] 8 p. f° [Monthly.] Paper 5c. single copy, 50c. a yr.; foreign subscription, 75c.

L. C. card 25-26231

P 8.5:936/2

50. *Trade-agreements* program in our inter-American relations, address by Sumner Welles, assistant Secretary of State, before Bar Association of Baltimore City, Baltimore, Md., Feb. 4, 1936. 1936. [2] + 10 p. narrow 8° ([Publication 841.]) [Originally issued as mimeographed press release for publication Feb. 5, 1936.] Paper, 5c.

L. C. card 36-26149

S 1.2:T 67/4

MISCELLANEOUS AND UNCLASSIFIED

51. *Bulletin (English edition)*. Bulletin of Pan American Union, Jan. 1936; [v. 70, no. 1]. [1935.] iv + 1-75 p. il. [Monthly. This number is entitled Andrew Carnegie centennial commemoration.]
L. C. card 8-30967 PA 1.6:e 70/1
52. ——— (*Portuguese edition*). Boletim da União Panamericana, janeiro 1936; [v. 38, no. 1]. [1935.] iv + 1-75 p. il. [Monthly. This number is entitled A Andrew Carnegie, homenagem no centenário do seu nascimento.]
L. C. card 11-27014 PA 1.6:p 38/1
53. ——— (*Spanish edition*). Boletín de la Unión Panamericana, enero 1936; [v. 70, no. 1]. [1935.] iv + 1-76 p. il. [Monthly. This number is entitled Homenaje a Andrew Carnegie en el centenario de su nacimiento.]
L. C. card 12-12555 PA 1.6:s 70/1
54. *Bulletin (English edition)*. Bulletin of Pan American Union Feb. 1936; [v. 70, no. 2]. [1936.] iv + 77-240 p. il. [Monthly. Number dedicated to Pan American Day, Apr. 14.]
L. C. card 8-30967 PA 1.6:e 70/2
55. ——— Same, v. 69, Jan.-Dec. 1935 [title page and index]. 1936. xxiv p.
PA 1.6:e 69/t.p.&ind.
56. ——— (*Portuguese edition*). Boletim da União Panamericana, fevereiro-março 1936; [v. 38, nos. 2 e 3]. [1936.] iv + 77-255 p. il. [Monthly. Two numbers issued as one publication. This issue is entitled Edição especial dedicada ao Dia Panamericano.]
L. C. card 11-27014 PA 1.6:p 38/2, 3
57. ——— (*Spanish edition*). Boletín de la Unión Panamericana, febrero-marzo 1936; [v. 70, no. 2 y 3]. [1936.] iv + 77-255 p. il. [Monthly. Two numbers issued as one publication. This issue is entitled Edición especial dedicada al Día de las Américas, 14 de abril.]
L. C. card 12-12555 PA 1.6:s 70/2, 3
58. *Bulletin (English edition)*. Bulletin of Pan American Union, Mar. 1936; [v. 70, no. 3]. [1936.] iv + 241-300 p. il. [Monthly.]
L. C. card 8-30967 PA 1.6:e 70/3
59. *Pilot chart*. Pilot chart of South Atlantic Ocean, Mar.-May, 1936; chart 2600. Scale 1° long. = 0.27 in. Washington, Hydrographic Office, Jan. 16, 1936. 23.1 × 31.8 in. [Quarterly. Certain portions of the data are furnished by the Weather Bureau.] 10c. N 6.20:936/1
60. ——— Pilot chart of south Pacific Ocean, Mar.-May 1936; chart 2601. Scale 1° long. = 0.2 in. Washington, Hydrographic Office, Jan. 17, 1936. 21.2 × 35.6 in. [Quarterly. Certain portions of the data are furnished by the Weather Bureau.] 10c. N 6.21:936/1
61. *Texas Centennial Exposition*, conference report to accompany H. J. Res. 459 [to amend joint resolution providing for participation of United States in Texas Centennial Exposition and celebrations to be held in Texas during 1935 and 1936, and authorizing the President to invite foreign countries and nations to participate therein, and for other purposes, so as

to clarify purposes for which funds heretofore appropriated can be expended]; submitted by Mr. McReynolds. Jan. 30, 1936. 2 p. (H. rp. 1930, 74th Cong. 2d sess.) Paper, 5c.

62. ——— report to accompany H. J. Res. 459 [to amend joint resolution providing for participation of United States in Texas Centennial Exposition and celebrations to be held in Texas during 1935 and 1936, and authorizing the President to invite foreign countries and nations to participate therein, and for other purposes, so as to clarify purposes for which funds heretofore appropriated can be expended]; submitted by Mr. Johnson of Texas. Jan. 22, 1936. 2 p. (H. rp. 1920, 74th Cong. 2d sess.) Paper, 5c.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

The George Washington University.

COMMUNICATIONS

WOFFORD COLLEGE

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND ECONOMICS

SPARTANBURG, S. C.

November 5, 1935.

Editor, THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

SIR:

In June, 1935, there was turned up in the field of Mr. W. Bryson Hammett, three miles west of Inman, S. C., R.F.D. 2, and twelve miles northwest of the city of Spartanburg, S. C., a stone bearing marks that appear to be records of Pardo's expedition through South Carolina in the year 1567.

The circumstances of the discovery were as follows, as related to me by Mr. Hammett, who is a gentleman of keen intelligence and the highest integrity. He was harvesting grain with a binder drawn by a tractor. The ground being wet, the tractor skidded and dished out the ground to a depth of a foot. On driving the tractor on the return along the other side of the terrace, where the skidding had occurred, the tractor bogged. The binder was then detached, and a stone was placed under the front end of its tongue while the tractor was extricated. No one paid any attention to the stone, which had merely served to support the end of the binder tongue.

About ten days later, as Mr. Hammett was sowing peas on the same land, he picked up the stone to remove it from the path of the oncoming tractor. He now noticed that it bore peculiar markings, partly filled with the reddish clay of the field. The clearness of the markings is doubtless due to the fact that they had, until thus exposed, been protected underground.

When, a few days later, a gentleman connected with the federal soil service told me of the find, I at once drove to Mr. Hammett's, and found that he was already intending to bring the stone in to show to me. I refrained from giving the matter to the local press, or even to consent to its publication in any of our larger city papers,

for the reason that I preferred to avoid all semblance of sensationalism by first announcing it through a professional journal. But for pressure of other historical research closely engaging me, I would have done this earlier. It is a source of regret that the discovery was not made in time for use in my History of South Carolina, which had come from the press only a few weeks earlier.

The stone is seventeen and a half inches long, twelve inches broad, and four or five inches thick, and is of the same composition as many other stones in the field, or that have been thrown out of it for facilitating cultivation. It is what is locally called rotten granite, *i.e.*, it appears to be of the composition of granite, but does not possess granite hardness. The accompanying photograph shows the injury done to the third digit by the tongue of the binder that was laid upon it. The figure 1567 (admitting that the third digit is 6), the arrow, and the parallelogram below the number remain apparently as clearly defined as when first incised. To the right there appear radiating lines somewhat injured, perhaps representing the sun. Above the parallelogram and apparently also below it is a line traversing the stone lengthwise, both of which appear to be part of the original engraving. The other streaks may have been made by harrows and other instruments scratching the stone long ago as it lay below the surface of the ground. All the markings except the injury to the figure bear the appearance of ancient earth coloring.

The third digit looks more like a 6 than appears from the photograph for the reason that the chipping off of the surface to the left of the injury (perfectly plain on the stone, and extending practically to the top of the 5) is hard to distinguish on the photograph.

On seeing the 1567 (admitting the third digit to be a 6), I of course thought of Pardo's expedition from the Spanish Fort San Felipe on Parris Island in the harbor of Port Royal, South Carolina, to Cofitatchiqui (apparently Silver Bluff on the South Carolina side of the Savannah River, about fifteen miles southeast of Augusta), and thence northward to the mountains, and thence far westward, and thence eastward to the Wateree, and thence back to Port Royal. It has long been known from Spanish records that Pardo in 1566, and again in 1567, traversed somewhere the part of South Carolina between the upper Savannah and the Wateree. Woodbury Lowery's *Spanish Settlement in the United States, 1562-1574*, narrates Pardo's



expeditions, with references to the Spanish sources of information. It is not improbable that Pardo's route lay across Spartanburg County, for the Cherokee path from their towns in northwestern South Carolina to the Catawba towns on the Catawba River, near the North Carolina-South Carolina state line, as found by the English at a later date, crossed Spartanburg County, apparently some miles south of the point where this stone was found. The forests before the white man arrived, were threaded with such paths. That Pardo was following these paths appears likely from the fact that when in 1566, his return to Port Royal (the Spanish Santa Elena) was desired, there was no difficulty in getting a messenger to him.

I have consulted several persons familiar with surveyors' marks in this section, none of whom knows of surveyors ever having employed such markings as are on this stone.

Pardo was in 1567 revisiting Ft. San Juan, which he had built in 1566 at Juada at the foot of the Blue Ridge Mountains, apparently in Pickens or Oconee County, S. C., some fifty miles west of the location of our stone. Our stone was found some fifteen miles south of the mountains.

I do not attempt to identify the parallelogram on the stone as a flag or a block house, nor the long lines as paths, nor the arrow as indicating the direction of Juada. The engraving on the stone bears every mark of antiquity and genuineness. The spot in one digit which one historical expert remarked as showing up rather whiter than the rest of the clay-dyed surface is where one of my colleagues in Wofford College (the president or the dean) accompanying me on my first view of the stone scratched it with a stick the better to examine the nature of the substance. The suggestion that Mr. Hammett's laborers may have placed the stone in the field as a joke compliments the farm laborers of South Carolina with a familiarity with Spanish-American history and its critical dates that unhappily they do not possess. Mr. Hammett himself was entirely unacquainted with the history of the Spaniards in South Carolina.

The French are known to have followed the custom of burying leaden plates along their routes as evidence of their claiming the region for their sovereign. Pardo may have been more economical of effort in burying stones found on the spot.

Summing up what we know and what we may conclude: The carvings, bearing all the appearance of antiquity, could not have

been made by Indians; for they did not use Roman numerals. By whomever made, the carvings were made with a definite purpose, and expressed the figure 1567 (if the third digit is a 6) for some definite reason. The other markings likewise are indicative of definite purpose. If the stone is not a memorial of Pardo's expedition, known to have traversed about this region of South Carolina, what reasonable explanation of it can be given?

Respectfully,

D. D. WALLACE.